# INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. XV JUNE, 1919 No. 2

# The Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and Their Hoosier Neighbors

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## INTRODUCTION



In 1916, at the request of the mayor of the city of Evansville, the writer undertook the organization and direction of the work of a Historical Commission of the Evansville Centennial for 1917. With a view to qualify himself better for the work he sought the literature of the early western travelers, as well as other writers, and began a search in the early records of the city and county of Vanderburgh, as well as of Warrick and Knox counties, out of which Vanderburgh county had been created.

The travels of William Faux in the west in the fall and winter of 1819 resulted from his intimacy with the Ingle family in Somersham, Huntingdonshire, England, where both families lived, and a promise made by Faux to Rev. John Ingle, a Baptist minister, that the former would visit the son of the latter at Saundersville in Vanderburgh county. The diary of Faux during five weeks he spent in John Ingle's cabin is the only record in existence of the first British settlement in Indiana. While local histories have recorded the

lives of many mmebers of that settlement and their descendants, including many of the leading men of the community, and in southwestern Indiana for one hundred years, no mention is made in any of them of the colony as Faux describes it.

When the war came on in 1917 the Historical Commission ceased its labors. The writer, as a descendant of John Ingle of Somersham and as a representative of three pioneer families of that settlement, felt a call to restore the fading picture, and to trace the work and lives of the emigrants and their descendants as town builders and commonwealth builders, which seemed to him worthy to be recorded.

The chief qualifications of the writer for the work lay in the fact that he had personally known some of the original emigrants of the first generation and many of their children, who had been born in England, among whom was his mother. He had more or less a knowledge of the history of the leaders of the settlement, as well as a large number of the one hundred or more families who came into the settlement in the first decade. In a law practice of about fifty years in Evansville, where he has lived a still longer time, he was in a manner familiar with the early history of the people of the city and county. So that in handling the records and files of the city and county from the beginning as late as 1830, the writer was able, so to speak, to become acquainted with the people of the town and county, their character and their work in the first decade, and to interpret many of the old records more fully than could have been done by a stranger. In tracing the history of the beginnings of the early British settlement, the personal knowledge of Mr. Edward Maidlow, still living in excellent health, and James Erskine, recently deceased, who were born in it in 1831, were of great assistance, as has been Mrs. Samuel G. Evans, a granddaughter of Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., who has permitted the writer to examine the family correspondence of the early time.

As will appear in this sketch, the movement represented in the Indiana colony was part of a greater one and a clear presentation of the whole was necessary to a history of the part. No attempt has been made to repeat the history of the Birkbeck-Flower movement, so fully presented in the writings

of those two men. The correctness of Prof. Edwin Erle Sparks' statement as to the final outcome of the Illinois colony, was challenged by Mr. Walter Colyer, and the writer was glad to avail himself of the opportunity to invite Mr. Colyer to state the facts upon the other side of the matter, which are presented by him probably as well and as fully as can be done, and they will probably be the last word on that subject.

The final success of each of these colonies is not to be sought at this time, in outward evidence of distinguishing British life, manners, or customs in any form, as Professor Sparks seems to imply. The emigrants, though of English, Irish and Scotch birth, became immediately American and their descendants are as distinctly such today in every respect, as any portion of the American people.

The Hoosier neighbors of the colonists in southern Indiana are traced with some care, both the native leaders and the body of the people with whom they lived as citizens and neighbors. Morris Birkbeck's descriptions in his *Notes and Letters* will always remain a valuable contribution to the history of the time. His description of the people of Princeton, quoted in the Edinburgh *Review*, is truthful, as the writer has every reason to believe, and he has practiced law in Princeton and on the circuit for almost fifty years and has a fair general knowledge of the people of Gibson county. While the influence of the early English and other foreigners and the native eastern people has been felt in southern Indiana, there is no doubt that the great body of the people of the southern portion of the State are of southern descent.

In dealing with the status of those people in the early history of the State, any fair critic must realize that altogether undue emphasis has to this time been placed in public opinion east of Indiana upon descriptions by early writers, who have not fairly interpreted the people, but who have taken the bottom layer to represent the whole people, or have been, correctly or not, so interpreted. In presenting Birkbeck's picture of these people, as a fair type of the plain people, who were much similar to the body of the people in all of the counties of southern Indiana, the writer may seem to have dealt with the subject as an advocate and a partisan. He

has eliminated as irrelevant to a truthful picture of the better class of Hoosiers, *The Hoosier School Master* entire, and much of the *New Purchase,* and has presented his facts and reasons.

Both the chapter on the Men of the Western Waters by Roosevelt and the new and splendid interpretation of frontier life in the Old North West by Frederick G. Turner, relate to the people, the location and the time of which we are writing and are germane to the description of the Hoosier neighbors of the British colonists, who included the family of Abraham Lincoln.

The references to Abraham Lincoln are intended chiefly to call attention to him as a Hoosier neighbor of the British colony during its first decade and longer, and the influence upon his character of a life among the pioneer farmers of southwestern Indiana, and to point out avenues of opportunity and information which existed within his reach, during his residence in Indiana, up to the time he was twenty-one years of age and which furnish facts relevant in the history of the main theme. That he had more opportunities and read more books than his historians are able to trace is conceded by them.

The writer had prepared biographical data, with illustrations, of a number of the original settlers and their descendants, among the latter a number of the representative men and women in this section of the State, as well as elsewhere, as a most complete verification of his statements, but the limitations of a magazine article properly exclude them.

## THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLERS

In the summer of 1817, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., of Tavistock, Devonshire, England, perfected arrangements for his son, Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., to come to America with his two sisters, and furnished him money to purchase land, build temporary improvements and prepare accommodations for the rest of the family, in the wilderness of the far west. He intended to follow when the accommodations were ready. His wife, a woman of unusual ability, was to remain behind a

couple of years with the two smaller children and settle up the business. The senior Hornbrook operated large manufactories (for the time), woolen mills and an iron foundry. He was an educated man, as were his ancestors for several generations before him, and came of good stock.

The first week in October, 1817, the junior Hornbrook, with his sisters, arrived at Pigeon creek, "a place merely for loading and discharging vessels for the western part of Indiana State." Evansville, located half a mile above the mouth of Pigeon creek, then consisted of thirteen log houses. A road ran out to the river through the bluff bank at a point now the foot of Main street. He proceeded without delay to Princeton, twenty-seven miles due north, where Birkbeck and Flower had established temporary quarters, while arrangements for the accommodations of the Prairie settlement across the Wabash river were in progress. Both Flower and Birkbeck were well known in England, and Hornbrook, Sr., had planned to join their settlement and purchase about 1,000 acres of land on which to settle with his family. Their scheme of land speculation, however, limited the amount of the purchase of one farmer to one-half section of land, 320 acres, required the purchaser to take it where it was assigned him, and the nearest to the proposed village centre where Hornbrook could buy was about twenty miles distant. He was required to pay a price per acre greater than that for which equally good or better land, much nearer in the government domain, could be bought.

These terms young Hornbrook indignantly refused. He returned to Princeton, "and after fourteen days constant fag, sometimes one and sometimes two meals a day, sleeping in a barn or cabin at night, he fixed on a spot of one and one-half sections," nine hundred and sixty acres, about ten miles from the Ohio river, and seventeen miles from Princeton, which he immediately entered at the land office at Vincennes.[1]

Hornbrook came by the Red Banks trail from Princeton, and located just east of it. This trail was one of the earliest routes located by the Indians and extended from the river

[1] Private letter of Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., dated Jan. 7, 1818, at Tavistock.

north to Princeton, Vincennes and Terre Haute and beyond to the Indian villages at a very early day.[2] The survey of this line by Jacob Fowler in 1806 shows it terminates at the Ohio river about five miles below the mouth of Pigeon creek in section 3, town 7, S. R. 11 W. about seven miles north of Henderson (Red Banks). Here local history says the channel was very narrow on account of sand bars on both sides of the river and in low water was crossed by whites and Indians without boats.[3] (Wilson's map places the ford at Red Banks about seven miles lower down the river.) This testimony is corroborated, by descriptions in deeds, referring to this trail, which are not found south of this ford.[4]

"Evansville right side. Above the mouth of Pigeon creek. This is a very thriving town, situated in the bend of the river, fifty-four miles south of Vincennes. It is the seat of justice for Vanderburgh county, Indiana; channel nearest right shore, round a high bar at the left hand point, opposite Pigeon creek. Two miles below Pigeon creek there is a hard bar on the right; channel near the left shore, and when you approach the left hand point below, keep over in the bend on the right, to avoid a large bar on the left, round the point; when past the latter, keep well over to the left again, to avoid the large bar on the right."

This location by Hornbrook was in October or November, 1817. When the senior Hornbrook came over in the following summer, 1818, he met Edward Maidlow, with his family, at Wheeling, bound for the Prairie settlement. They bought and fitted up an ark and came by water to Evansville together, and Maidlow located adjoining Hornbrook, entering about the same quantity of land as Hornbrook.

In April, the same year, George Flower, on his second trip to America, sailed from England in the ship Anna Maria, chartered by him, with a band of emigrants for his colony, with the deck of the ship covered with a selection of fine stock, preceded by a ship similarly loaded.[5] Among the passengers who came with them, named by Flower in his history of the settlement, was John Ingle, his wife, five young chil-

[2] George R. Wilson, *Early Indian Trails and Surveys*, Map 394, 360, 361.

[3] Sebastian Henrich, the veteran Abstractor, procured this testimony a generation ago from reliable sources.

[4] The following extract from *The Western Pilot*, by Samuel Cummings, published in 1825, which furnishes also in 20 maps the course of the Ohio river from Pittsburgh to the Mississippi river, shows the sand bars mentioned at the terminus of the Red Banks trail as located in Fowler's survey:

[5] George Flowers, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Ill.* 100.

dren and maid, who came to Princeton and remained a short time with Ingle's friend, Judge William Prince, after whom Princeton, then four years old, was named. There can be no doubt that it was the arrival of George Flower's ship, which sailed in April, 1818, thus mentioned:[6]

> A New York paper says: We learn that a gentleman has lately arrived in this city from England whose object is to settle in the Illinois territory—that his family and settlers, brought over with him, amount to fifty-one persons—that he has furnished himself with agricultural implements, seeds of various kinds, some cows, sheep and pigs for breeding, and about 100,000 pounds sterling in money.
>
> This is doing business to a great national as well as individual profit; and if gentlemen of fortune and enterprise will emigrate in the same manner, our Western States will shortly be the most flourishing part of the world.

The amount of cash in the party was probably over-stated, although there were a number of well-to-do individuals in the party.

After a survey of the situation, Ingle, instead of going as he had intended to the Illinois settlement, bought a section of land near Hornbrook, about the time that Maidlow purchased. Hornbrook and Maidlow were men of middle age with good sized families of grown children, a number of whom later intermarried. Maidlow was "a most intelligent and respectable Hampshire farmer, who brought considerable capital and English habits and feelings the best in the world."[7] He preferred to remain a farmer and hold his land for its increase. Ingle outlived Hornbrook and Maidlow. He was for many years an active leader in public matters and, like Hornbrook and Maidlow, remained on his farm all his life. All of them were strong men and natural leaders, who became and remained during their lives the center of a large circle in the Saundersville community, exercising wide and permanent influence.

The McJohnstons and Hillyards, Irish, who came in 1818, and the Wheelers, English, and the Erskines, Scotch-Irish emigrants, who came in 1819, all located a few miles east of Saundersville. They were people of the same type, all men

[6] *Niles' Weekly Register,* June 6, 1818, XIV, 256.

[7] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 234.

of high purposes and character. With, or following soon after all of these men, came followers, relatives or friends. This was the beginning of the British settlement in Indiana which, in November, 1819, Faux describes as containing fifty-three families in possession of 12,800 acres of land entered, having capital to the amount of eighty thousand dollars.[8] Within two years after that date there were in the settlement over one hundred families, represening probably from five hundred to seven hundred and fifty people.

The panic then existing in America, perhaps with improved conditions of the people in England, possibly bettered as the effect of wholesale expatriation in this general movement, checked the rapid growth of the Indiana colony for some years. But emigration never wholly ceased. Later in the forties and early fifties renewed emigration in large numbers set in from Great Britain. These later emigrants were attracted largely by relatives, friends or acquaintances of the British settlers and their descendants, who by that time were among the foremost leaders and town builders in the rapidly growing town of Evansville. That town was platted in 1817, was chartered a year later, and was now located near the southern boundary of the settlement, which had extended toward Evansville.

To the writer it seemed a matter of more than local interest to trace the influence of these pioneers and their associates of the first decade of the settlement, to trace their struggles with adverse elements peculiar to the locality, in their stand for law, order, morality and high Christian civilization in southwestern Indiana, at the beginning of society itself, and when the influences of organized government were first authoritatively felt here.

The relation of the settlement to the new town of Evansville was most intimate. A few miles distance between them in that day was counted slight obstacle to such intimacy. They grew from beginnings at the same time and were soon

[8] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 240. Aaron Woods, *Sketches,* 13, mentions English settlements in Dearborn and Franklin counties as well as in Vanderburgh county. We find a short reference to the settlement in Dearborn county, Archibald Shaw, *Hist. of Dearborn,* 212-214, but no reference to the one in Franklin county.

almost united by the Mechanicsville (or Stringtown) ridge, which was from the beginning settled by the better class of pioneers and on which were scattered early a few of the British colony. The British settlement became an integral part of the foundation, growth and expansion of the city of Evansville, which was destined to become a large city, in which members of the settlement had an opportunity not offered to the other purely agricultural British settlements of the time.

Some of the descendants of these British pioneers, including some of the younger generation born in England, such as John Ingle, Jr., and Philip Hornbrook, were among the leading citizens of Evansville in its early growth and formative period. The influence generally of the whole settlement on the agricultural community, its intelligence, morality and society was also marked. More than any other single element, the influence from the source mentioned aided in the establishment of high standards of social and political life and institutions.

Before the days of railroads and the telegraph, representatives of the British settlement were leaders in the town of Evansville. They were leaders in the building of the first canal, the first railroad and the first telegraph line in southwestern Indiana, and in the promoting of the first coal mine, and river craft attachment to furnish fuel to steamboats on the river and the people of Evansville at its wharf. They were leaders, in the beginning, of the educational institutions of the city of Evansville at the time of the creation of the public school system of Indiana. They were leaders in the organization and support of the first agricultural society in the county[10], and the early agricultural reports of the State contain the names of one of the younger leaders in the settlement as among the first contributors to the literature of scientific agriculture.[11] In pioneer work in the religious insti-

[10] Philip Hornbrook was secretary of the first agricultural society in Vanderburgh county and so continued during his life. When he died the society abandoned its meetings.

[11] Interesting articles on scientific agriculture by Andrew Erskine, *Indiana Agricultural Reports*, 1856, 387, 392; 1859, 60, 119.

tutions of the entire county they were first, as the records show.

From 1819, when the Wheeler brothers and Robert Parrett came into the settlement, and for twelve or fifteen years afterwards, while the community was too poor to build a church or support a preacher, the town of Evansville itself, as well as the rural districts, relied almost entirely upon them —excepting an occasional visit of a Presbyterian missionary, or the Methodist circuit rider—for an educated ministry.

The names of Hornbrook, Ingle, Maidlow, Parrett, Hillyard, Wheeler, Erskine and others were early well known in Vincennes, New Harmony, Albion, Princeton, Evansville, and surrounding country, and for one hundred years, through several generations, those names have stood for truth, honesty, and justice in dealing with others. The large representation of those families among the prominent citizens of Evansville, as well as some well known in wider fields, is due in no small degree to this fact. Among the latter, now living, will appear names known throughout the country in literature and great moral reform and when the United States, in November, 1918, assumed government control of all telegraph as well as telephone lines in the country, a grandson of Robert Parrett, Union Bethell, was placed in charge of them all.

Before entering more fully into these details, it will be appropriate to give an outline of the wider movement recognized at the time by leading authority in Great Britain and America, as of world-wide importance, and of which the Indiana colony was a part.

Usually the significance of local history is that it is part of a greater whole. The right and vital sort of local history is the sort which may be written with lifted eyes—the sort which has a horizon and an outlook upon the world.[12]

## English Emigration to America After 1815

The four British colonies in America were parts of a single movement, resulting from the same causes. Professor Sparks, in an excellent short summary of the movement, says:

[12] Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History,* 216.

English colonies were planted in eastern Pennsylvania, along the Susquehana river; in Long Island, New York; in the southern portion of the State of Indiana, and in southeastern Illinois. * * * The movement developed at the time of the reconstruction period of European history, when the nations were attempting to resume their normal economic relations, after twenty years of almost continuous war. * * * The people blamed all their miseries upon the government.[13]

William Cobbet, in his dedication to Thomas Hulme's *Journal* of a tour of the far west in 1818, ascribes the activity of the latter to his zeal against the twin monsters, tyranny and priestcraft, and a desire to assist in providing a retreat for the oppressed. He speaks of the great numbers of immigrants flocking to the western countries, the newest of the New World, toward which the writings of Morris Birkbeck had called their pointed attention. Especially, were so attracted those Englishmen, "who having something left to be robbed of, and wishing to preserve it, were looking towards America as a place of refuge from the boroughmongers and the Holy Alliance."[14]

Hulme says he saw that the incomes of his children were all pawned to pay the debts of the borough or seat owners. That of whatever he might be able to give his children, which was a very substantial sum, as well as of what they might be able to earn, more than one-half would be taken away to feed pensioned lords and ladies, "soldiers to shoot at us, parsons to persecute us, and fundholders, who had lent their money to be applied to purposes of enslaving us.[15]

Richard Flower said in his letter of August 20, 1821, that the grand reason for emigration was to escape that overwhelming system of taxation, which had diminished the property of the emigrants, and threatened, if they staid much longer, to swallow up the whole. He adds:

How many of my brother farmers have lost their all? How many have been added to the list of paupers, since we left our beloved country, newspapers and private letters, agricultural meetings and parliamentary proceedings reports sufficiently declare.[16]

[13] Erle Sparks, *English Settlement in the Illinois,* introduction.
[14] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* X 19-21.
[15] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* X 23.
[16] *Id.* 146.

Rev. John Ingle, of Somersham, so often mentioned by Faux in his *Travels,* thus writes to his son, John Ingle, of Saundersville, eighteen months after the emigration of the latter to the Indiana colony:

> I most sincerely congratulate you on your choice and successful removing from your native country; you have privations, you have calculated upon, and from your accounts, fewer than you expected. Had you stopped here, you would have lived somehow, but you could not have continued in the society you have been used to. Here the smaller stations of property appear gradually wearing to pauperism and the prospect before us is unpromising indeed; agriculture dark, commercial and manufacturing stations no less so. Prices are low, markets are falling, corn traders stopping, laborers out of employ, and money so scarce as in a great measure, what can be omitted, possibly, is omitted. Poor rates are enormous and appearances seem to tell us they will still increase.

Faux gives as the reason of James Maidlow for emigrating, that after a fair trial, with a large farm, he found it impossible to farm, without losing money.

Payton Wheeler, a tradesman from Chelsea, told Faux that having a wife and eight children, he was determined on emigration by soberly looking into his affairs and finding that he had an increasing family, and decreasing property, having lost during his last year, among his tradsemen, 1,500 pounds. Birkbeck, in his *Notes,* is thus quoted in the Edinburgh *Review*:

> A Nation, with half its population supported by alms, or poor-rates, and one-fourth of its income derived from taxes, many of which are dried up in their sources, or speedily becoming so, must teem with emigrants from one end to the other, and, for such as myself, who have had "nothing to do with the laws but obey them," it is quite reasonable and just to secure a timely retreat from the approaching crisis—either of anarchy or despotism.
>
> An English farmer, to which class I had the honor to belong, is in possession of the same rights and privileges with the villeins of old time, and exhibits for the most part, a suitable political character. He has no voice in the appointment of the legislature, unless he happen to possess a freehold of forty shillings a year, and he is then expected to vote in the interest of his landlord. He has no concern with public affairs, excepting as a tax-payer, a parish officer, or a militiaman. He has no right to appear at a county meeting, unless the word inhabitant should find its way into the sheriff's invitation; in this case he may show his face among the nobility, clergy, and freeholders; a felicity which once occurred to myself, when the

inhabitants of Surrey were invited to assist the gentry in crying down the Income Tax.

Thus, having no elective franchise, an English farmer can scarcely be said to have a political existence; and political duties he has none, except such as, under existing circumstances, would inevitably consign him to the special guardianship of the Secretary of State for the home department.

Following this, the *Review* concedes that "whoever prefers his own to any other country, as a place of residence, must be content to pay an enormous price for the gratification of his wish."[17] The *Review* reproves the writers of works of travel and the magazines which manifested hatred of America, and things American, and it shows an appreciation of American growth and coming greatness, prophetic of what the world concedes today.

Confirming the experience of Hulme and others, as to religious persecution, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., the father of the British settlement in Indiana, whose mother, Barbara, was the daughter of Rev S. Richards, of Calstock, in Devonshire, a Unitarian minister, gave as his reason for emigration, in addition to business depression, the fact that he was fined a shilling for attendance at the Unitarian chapel of each member of his family and household.

As early as the end of 1816 the problem of emigration from Great Britain to America had become a serious one, both to the British government, and to the people of America. In New York alone nearly 2,000 such emigrants who, according to John Bradbury, foolishly remained about the cities till their money gave out, were stranded and appealed to their home government for aid. Competition among laborers was great, as emigrants were arriving from all of the nations of Europe. In February, 1817, the British consul in New York, by newspaper advertisement, announced "the important privilege to such English emigrants, to settle in upper Canada or Nova Scotia." This indicated the scheme of a British colony, charged in the American press to be the result of the work of a British spy. Colonies west of the mountains were then urged on account of a temperate climate better adapted to

[17] Edinburgh *Review*, 1818, Vol. XXX, 123.

settlers, than the rigorous weather of upper Canada and Nova Scotia.

An ambitious plan of western colonization on a large scale to provide for such emigrants as preferred to remain in the United States, was outlined in detail in an American magazine in July, 1817.[18] Bradbury's *Travels* in 1809, 1810 and 1811 published in August, 1817, gave a most favorable description of the scattered people of the west and recommended colonies for mutual protection of emigrants, which practice, he says, was not confined to newcomers only, but was frequently adopted among old settlers. Referring to the latter, he says:

> With whom it is a continual bond of amity and social intercourse, and in no part of the world is good neighborship found in greater perfection than in the western territory or in America generally.

Morris Birkbeck's *Notes* came out in Philadelphia, in the fall of 1817, before they were published in England. William Darby's *Emigrants' Guide*, giving full directions to emigrants, was published in America about the same time. In the May number, 1818, of the *Analectic Review*, appeared a review of both of these works, in which the writer refers approvingly to Birkbeck's scheme and says that his "plans in the State of Indiana, bid fair to bring about the realization of our more flattering hopes." Birkbeck's colony was in Illinois, on the edge of the prairie beyond the heavy timber belt in Indiana, which extended to the Wabash river. His temporary headquarters were, however, in Indiana and he refers to the people of the latter State in his work.

When the movement among the better class of British emigrants followed that of the more shiftless or unfortunate class mentioned, the former sent out agents to western America to look at the country and make recommendations. Such an agent was William Bradshaw Fearon, a London physician, who was unfairly denounced as untruthful by Cobbett, of the Long Island colony, and as an agent of the British government by George Flower. Referring to the character of men and women, who were a correct type of the leaders of the

[18] *Analectic Review*, Phila. X, 52.

first English settlement in Indiana, as well as, we have reason to believe, the Illinois settlement, Mr. Fearon says, in substance.[19]

At the time of his appointment as the agent of thirty-nine English families to investigate and report upon the subject of a location in the west, emigration had assumed a new character. It was no longer merely the poor, the idle, the profligate or the wildly speculative, who were proposing to quit their native country, but men also of capital, of industry, of sober and regular pursuits; men of reflection, who apprehended approaching evils; men of upright and conscientious minds, to whose happiness civil and religious liberty were essential. And men of domestic feeling, who wished to provide for the future support and prosperity of their offspring.

The design of emigrating by colony to Illinois was formed by Morris Birkbeck, who in 1817, in Philadelphia and in 1818 in London, published his *Notes* of his journey and described his plans, his location, in the small prairies of Illinois adjoining timber land, and its advantages. His appeal to the British people met with a response of approval so general as to alarm the partisans of the government, and to provoke from them attacks upon America and things American; travelers like Fearon and Faux were biased with this spirit. It was said of him by Faux that "no man since Columbus, had done so much toward peopling America, as Morris Birbeck."

To Birkbeck more than all others, was due the first leadership of the colony, in the prairie of Illinois, as well as of other emigrants in the far west, at this time, who did not join his colony. He was a highly educated man, a large and successful tenant farmer, of 1,500 acres, called Wanborough, near Guilford, in the county of Surrey. He had accumulated property which he converted into about 55,000 dollars cash, which he invested in his scheme of emigration. A large number of his employees and former tenants joined him and became tenants or small purchasers of land from him. Some returned to England. Eleven editions in English of Birkbeck's *Notes*

[19] Fearon's *Sketches of America,* introduction. "Almost every vessel from England brings more or less passengers—the current of immigration is steady, and of very respectable character." *Niles' Register,* May 17, 1817, V. XII, p. 185.

were published during 1817, 1818 and 1819, in Philadelphia, London, Dublin and Cork, and a German translation was published in Jena in 1818.[20] His *Letters from Illinois* were published in seven editions in English in 1818, and in 1819 were translated into French and German.

George Flower was the son of Richard Flower, who was a large brewer at Hertford, the county town of Hertfordshire, who had retired from business after acquiring a competence, and lived upon a beautiful estate called Marden. He was the head of a prominent family, still influential in England. He placed a large sum at the disposal of his son, George, then 29 years of age, and personally joined him in promoting the success of the colony where he lived the remainder of his life.

Birkbeck and Flower sought to buy an entire township of about 40,000 acres, but this required an act of congress to make an exception to the government method of selling land, and that plan failed. The scheme outlined in Birkbeck's *Notes* was therefore modified and Birkbeck and Flower bought 16,000 acres in one body and other tracts were from time to time added by them and by individual purchases. It is not unlikely that Birkbeck and Flower might have obtained the privilege of buying one or more townships of land in a body without its offer at public sale, if the Hibernian societies of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore had not at the same time petitioned congress for large concessions to the Irish emigrants for colonization in bodies in the west. The House of Representatives, by a decisive vote, adopted a committee report adverse to these petitions, and which called attention to others without naming them, doubtless including that of Birkbeck and Flower.[21] An unfortunate breach between the two men at the very beginning of their plans prevented them ever meeting or acting together and the two men organized rival towns, Birkbeck at Wanboro and Flower at Albion, only a few miles apart. Birkbeck died in 1825 and Wanboro later disappeared. Albion became the county seat and absorbed the business of the former town. Birkbeck was the practical farmer. Before his emigration, he enjoyed a

[20] Solon Justus Buck. *Illinois in 1818,* 112.

[21] *Niles' Weekly Register,* 1818, XIV, 256 and 280.

widespread celebrity as being one of the first practical as well as theoretical farmers of the kingdom. His premature and early death by drowning in 1825 cut short his plans, and the loss of Flower in Birkbeck's alienation and death, just at the time of an expected reconciliation, was very great, equally to their original scheme and to George Flower personally.

Flower was not raised a farmer and when he built Park House in the winter of 1818-19 for his father, later occupied by himself, it was for years maintained much as a great county estate in England. It was said when built to be the finest house west of the Allegheny mountains.

To Morris Birkbeck belongs the credit of the conception of the English colony in the prairie of Illinois, a publication of the description of the country, and a presentation of statesmanlike view of the advantages of the far west to the inhabitants of the old world, then considering emigration. This exerted an extraordinary influence upon the British people. While in America, his son in England fitted out a ship, chartered by him, which brought a ship load of emigrants and supplies in April, 1818. He was nominated secretary of state *ad interim* of the new State of Illinois and on political grounds, only, the senate refused to confirm his appointment. His intimacy with Governor Edward Coles, while the latter was on a diplomatic mission abroad, before he became governor, is believed to have influenced his selection of Illinois, as a field for his emigration scheme. He is recognized by the best authority as among the first men of the State, in defeating the attempt to impose slavery on the State by a new constitution.[22] Richard Flower was so recognized by Governor Coles, who appealed to him personally for aid in that crisis.[23]. Birkbeck's descendants in America and Australia, have been and are highly respectable and successful people, some of them of much prominence.

To George Flower belongs the credit of co-operation with Birkbeck, the publication of Birkbeck's *Notes,* one copy of which he carried to Philadelphia and one to London, the

[22] Washburn, *Sketch of Edward Coles,* 188; Dwight Harris, *Negro Servitude in Illinois,* 44.

[23] Washburn's *Sketches of Edward Coles,* 145.

chartering of ships, the creation of Albion as a going concern and the devotion of his life to the work in which Richard Flower, his father, joined and invested a large fortune for that time.

Richard Flower, in 1824, was commissioned by George Rapp, the head of the New Harmony settlement, to sell out the property of the Rappite colony and Flower visited Scotland and interested Robert Owen, who made the purchase in that year. It appears that Flower found Owen as the purchaser.[24]

George Flower was a man of commanding presence, and of large natural ability. His descendants have almost, without exception, been remarkable people intellectually. His grandson, Rev. George F. Pentecost, D. D., still living in Philadelphia, in the active ministry in a great church at 75, has been and remains one of the most eloquent, able and remarkable men in the American pulpit.

Enormous sums of money were spent in many ways very early by the Flowers for the betterment and improvement of the colony and its inhabitants and to attract emigrants. They, with Birkbeck, were broad, liberal and philanthropic. Their money so lavishly spent, was not a wise financial investment in the primitive state of society and economic development of the country, then just commencing. The final success of the prairie agricultural colony was to be from the labor of the individual farmer and his family, acting independently. Large sums invested so far in advance of the times in the wilderness, were never returned and George Flower and his wife lived to endure "pinching penury" in the neighborhood of his former grandeur. He and his wife died the same day at Grayville, Illinois, January 15, 1862.

## THE ILLINOIS SETTLEMENT

It is not our purpose to repeat the story of the founding of the Illinois settlement and its gradual evolution into an intelligent and successful agricultural community with the

[24] George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, 61, note.

attractive and cultured county seat of Albion. Birkbeck's and Flower's works contain a full account of the details. Professor Sparks' *English Settlement in Illinois* is merely a reprint of interesting letters of Richard Flower, and Morris Birkbeck, descriptive of the times and country in their relationship to this emigration. He did not claim to have before him all the facts in relation to the progress of that settlement, nor any acquaintance with the community necessary for a determination of the question of the success of the Illinois colony of which he speaks in unfavorable terms. His statement that a very few descendants of the English settlers are yet to be found in Edwards county would seem to be a misapprehension.

The purpose of all of these English emigrants in Illinois and Indiana was not to form English colonies in America, with English customs or laws, or with a separate or independent existence. This was the opposite of Birkbeck's scheme outlined in his *Notes*. It was rather their movement together into a new country for the betterment of men and women of common hopes and aims. It was to become pioneers and citizens of a democratic republic, where the oppressive burden of rents, tithes, poor rates and taxes from which they fled, practically had no existence. They came, too, like the Pilgrims of old, to seek freedom from oppression, including freedom to worship God. All of the Americans were emigrants or descendants of emigrants. The English settlers ceased to be foreigners, they became Americans, with all others.

The success, in a sense, of an English settlement in the beginning of a community like this, lay in its perfect union with all the better elements of population as then came into the country, and they came rapidly. Its highest success lay in the extent of its contributions to the building of character among the people, to the elevation of ideals, to the establishment of public opinion, based on correct standards of right and wrong, leadership in establishing public improvements, churches, school houses, introducing good stock, in creating improved farms, early roads, bridges and mills, and later, canals, railroads, telegraph and a system of public education,

as well as everything entering into the make-up of good society.

Many of these things were introduced by Birkbeck and Flower in the very beginning at enormous expense never returned to them, and with the aid of the influence of the English settlers most of them came sooner than they would have come without that aid. Such was distinctly the result in southwestern Indiana of the permanent location of the English settlers in Vanderburgh county.

Mr. Walter Colyer, of Albion, himself a descendant of one of the English settlers, was for nearly twenty years editor of the Albion *Journal*, during which period he gathered much material relating to the Illinois settlement, with a view to utilizing it in various ways. During the past fifteen years, since quitting the newspaper field, his stock of material has increased. He has written and published a number of articles upon the subject, a number for the Illinois Historical Society, of which for many years he has been a director. He has an invaluable collection of books and pamphlets on the subject which have been of much value to the writer in extending his investigation to the Illinois settlement. He is best qualified of any person living to answer the inquiry as to what impress the English settlement in Edwards county has left today upon the community in which it was located. Answering that question put to him, he gives, in a letter, the following relevant facts:

As many as seven hundred English people found a permanent settlement and home in Edwards county in the early years of the colony, to say nothing of the hundreds of others who continued to migrate from England to the English settlement, for fifty years afterwards.

The great majority of those people died here in Edwards county, and the day you were in Albion many hundreds of their descendants were on the fairgrounds to attend the Centennial Celebration. I have no means of knowing how many of those descendants were present, but it is quite likely that they comprised from one-third to one-half of the total attendance.

Edwards is a county in which approximately nineteen-twentieths of the farmers reside on their own farms, and farm mortgages are the exception and not the rule. The delinquent tax list, published once a year, has numerous times been printed in less than one column of space in a local newspaper. There has not been a saloon in Albion, the county seat, for more than forty-five years, and none in the entire county for that period

with the exception of one for a brief time at Browns some fifteen years ago. There are but two terms of circuit court in the county a year, and it has sometimes happened court has adjourned without a jury trial or the return of an indictment. In a hundred years there have been but fourteen homicides and in but three instances was the killing done for any cause but self defense.

Edwards is a county in which practically every farmer owns a telephone, subscribes for a local newspaper and reads the Chicago, St. Louis or Evansville dailies. It has been computed that Edwards county has a greater number of automobiles in proportion to population than any other county, save one, in Illinois. The per capita of wealth is greater and the standard of intelligence higher than in most of the counties of southern Illinois. Two-thirds of the farmers have a substantial balance to their credit in a local bank.

The county is famous for the fact that its county jail, as well as the county almshouse, is often unoccupied for months at a time, and the jailer makes his living by other means. It can also be said with truth that Edwards is a county in which high school, college or university graduates, can be found sprinkled about on almost every section of land.

Those who were born, reared and trained in Edwards county, have carried the indelible impress of their early environment to other States or countries, have in the great majority of instances prospered and done honor to the place of their birth. Many of them have become famed as editors, lawyers, statesmen, doctors, missionaries, preachers, lecturers, educators, engineers, scientists, travellers, and successful men in various lines of industry. One became the owner of a large Fiji island and amassed a great fortune.

Of Albion, the county seat of Edwards county, the town founded by George Flower a hundred years ago, it may be interesting to note that it contains practically twice as many pianos as dogs, and that it has more miles of brick paved streets than any other city of its population in southern Illinois. It may be worth observing that the city calaboose is occupied scarcely once a year.

It appears that the settlements of the English and Irish, with a few Scotch, in the west, were destined, both in Illinios and in Indiana, to give color and tone to the society, manners and customs of the people with whom they mingled.

## The Indiana Settlement

The facts which led Hornbrook to refuse the terms offered him by the promoters of the Illinois colony and to select a location in the southern Indiana wilderness, which immediately became a nucleus for a British colony in Indiana, do

not all lie upon the surface, or fully appear in the reasons already given for that step.

There was something in the headship of one or two persons over others, especially strong men, in the direction and domination of the most important step, in the change of home and country, that was tolerated in England, but wholly foreign to American soil and life. It appears that Birkbeck and Flower could not agree and organized rival towns. Whatever the cause assigned for the quarrel, it was true, then as now, that there could be but one leader to a single movement.

The natives called Birkbeck the Czar of the prairies. Flower, as stated, lived in the finest house west of the Allegheny mountains, and in an unusual degree brought into the far west English life and comforts at a great expense. Both these men saw the future of the country and that empires were to be established in the new western States.

The power of organization, leadership and money had its limits, and the success of the farmer lay in the products of the soil, only to be obtained by a life of hard labor. Hired labor could not be obtained to accomplish that result. Men would not work for others when their work for themselves would pay for their farm.

There was another circumstance which exerted some influence upon the members of the Indiana colony. A number of the leaders of the emigrants in the Indiana colony were men of Puritan faith and principles, which moulded their lives and characters. They believed implicitly in God's providence in the affairs of men, and that moral forces rule the world. The moral and religious supremacy of the Indiana settlement was early one of its distinguishing features. Its ministers and many of its leaders believed in positive and demonstrative Christianity as opposed to mere forms. They were not, however, subject to the criticism made against the backwoodsmen, where public worship was very often directed and controlled by ignorant and uncouth native ministers.

George Flower says:[26]

> Rivals of the settlement, east of the mountains set on foot every disparaging report as to health, success, provisions, morals and religion.

[26] Sparks, *History of English Settlement in Edwards County*, 165.

Upon an emigrant refusing to land at Shawneetown on one occasion, on account of the absence of church services in the prairie settlement, arrangements were made for a shoemaker, Mr. Brown, to read printed sermons at Wanboro, in a little cabin, and another layman read the Episcopal service in the public library at Albion. On the arrival of Richard Flower in 1819, he "preached" regularly every Sunday, the dissenters service without church organization.

The slaveholders who attacked Birkbeck, denounced him unfairly, as an infidel. He had, in one of his letters (No. 20), admitted writing a preacher who offered to come to his colony to fight infidelity and bigotry saying he had not a word to say to that offer "dissuasive or encouraging" and that bigotry "is a disease for which I think no remedy is so effective as letting alone." The preacher did not come. The press attacked him for his alleged irreligion in other utterances.

The *Eclectic Review* of 1818 denounced as a profane jest his motto on the title page of his letters, "Vox clamantis e deserto." The same motto is used in a similar manner in the *New Purchase,* Chap. X, by a prominent Presbyterian divine in a description of pioneer life in Indiana, with seeming propriety.

No doubt there was unfair criticism of the "theology" of these promoters, but the absence of ministers, with a practical rebuff to one who desired to come to the Wanboro settlement, had its effect upon some of the deeply spiritual and religious men among the emigrants. Father Parrett and Father Wheeler, who settled in the Indiana colony in 1819, were educated Wesleyan ministers and for a generation exercised great influence among the people with whom religion was a matter of the first importance.

How far the personal equation figured in the creation of two colonies instead of one, one in Illinois and one in Indiana, cannot now be determined. Flower's book was written at the end of a long life, after he had ceased to be a part of it, giving many interesting details of the founding of the Illinois colony. He outlines fully the world-wide importance of the step. He omits to give credit to many others for the

work of establishing the colony on a practical basis, claiming, it is said, undue credit for himself and Birkbeck.[27]

Elias P. Fordham is described by Colyer as "the main stay of the English settlement," who was the leader in many practical affairs of vital importance. The records of Edwards county show he collected his surveyor's fees for surveying Albion by a judgment in court against Richard Flower. Not long afterwards Fordham left the settlement and returned to England.

In Hartt's *Centennial History of Illinois*[28] there is a strong implication that James Lawrence, an English tailor, a picturesque character, had been overlooked by the historians of the Illinois settlement.

Nowhere in Flower's book is any reference made to the British settlement in Pennsylvania, nor to the publication of Dr. C. B. Johnson in 1819-1820, containing a prospectus of that settlement as a preface to his *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania.* In this book, Johnson followed the line of Birkbeck's letters and attracted much attention in England and America. Dr. Johnson, besides attacking the promoters of the prairie colony, when in New York, later became an active promoter of the Pennsylvania colony, urged as containing greater advantages than a colony so far west, either in "Illinois or Indiana." The Pennsylvania colony was organized in 1819 at a meeting of a number of Englishmen who had been attracted by Birkbeck's *Notes* and had come to America intending to join his colony. Its short history is interesting and sheds light on the present inquiry.

On reaching New York, Dr. C. B. Johnson, on his way to Illinois, met Cobbett, who placed before him the advantages of settling east of the mountains, and the hardships, ill health and suffering in the far west, and poisoned his mind both against Birkbeck and George Flower personally, upon which Johnson attacked the western settlement and personally attacked George Flower and Birkbeck.[29] Similar attacks were made in England about the same time.

[27] Address of Walter Colyer on the Fordhams and La Serres of the English settlement in Edwards County; *Ill. State His. Soc. Proc.* 1911, p. 43.

[28] Chicago *Sunday Tribune,* Dec. 1, 1918.

[29] George Flower, *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County, Illinois,* 195.

As one of a committee of five he made a contract with Dr. Robert H. Rose for an option to buy a maximum amount of forty thousand acres in Susquehanna county, or any smaller amount, for an English colony. Rose held one hundred thousand acres in a body extending into eight townships. He had, several years previously, advertised substantially the same scheme of a colony and had established a settlement of New England farmers on the tract. Although his terms were easy, between April, 1813, and September, 1815, over one hundred suits had been brought against New England settlers unable to pay the price of three dollars per acre.

In 1818 Rose advertised still easier terms to settlers, bought out the small improvements of the New England settlers who had made small clearings and sold them to the English, who undertook to carry on the scheme which had been abandoned by the New Englanders. The English remained only three or four years and the settlement failed.[30]

A third colony, of negroes, was established by Rose and proved a still greater failure. Finally the location was settled by Irish laborers, who were stranded in the country on the failure in the construction of a canal.

To Dr. Johnson's volume as a preface was prefixed a prospectus by the Philadelphia committee, stating with detail the scheme of the Pennsylvania colony, and showing that the amount of additional cost of an emigrant going to the far west would buy 120 acres of land in the new settlement. The book urged the unhealthy conditions in Indiana and Illinois, danger from Indians in case of war, the absence of markets, the privations and extreme hardships from which a number of disappointed emigrants had turned back, and presented the many advantages of markets and location so near to New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.[31] It showed that success by the individual emigrant could be had in northeastern Pennsylvania easier and with less privations than in

[30] Emily C. Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Penn.*, 453. Stocker, *Susquehanna County Centennial History*, 502

[31] C. B. Johnson, *Letters from the British Settlement in Pennsylvania*, 1819, Phila. & London.

the west, which was probably true, with land equally productive. But it was a settlement in the wilderness where success demanded a life of sacrifice and hard labor which the settlers were unwilling to devote and from which escape was very easy.

Dr. Johnson was an educated man who seemed honest in his account, which is a valuable record and description of details of American backwoods life of that time, both east and west of the mountains.

Birkbeck's *Notes* and *Letters* give an optimistic, yet substantially truthful account of the prospects of an English settler in the far west.

Dr. Johnson's *Letters* present all of the facts against them by a competitor. After three or four years he moved to Binghamton, New York, where he died in 1845 at the age of 65. Of him, the historian of the Pennsylvania settlement says:

> More than one English emigrant bemoaned the day he read *Johnson's Letters*, and heaped upon the author accusations born of disappointment. "Too rose colored," his descriptions may have been; but so, also, were the notions of town-bred people respecting their own capacity to endure the inevitable ills attendant upon pioneer life.[32]

The Pennsylvania settlement had underlying it the element of speculation by the original proprietor of the land, not dissimilar to that of Birkbeck's and Flower's schemes, and the land was hilly and it seems not very productive. Hornbrook, Ingle, Maidlow and other leaders of the Indiana colony were men of strong character who preferred entire independence of promoters. They issued no prospectus, published no advertisements. All settlers and land owners bought from the government and were on perfect equality. They realized the necessities of their position and devoted their lives to their work.

The reflected light from the literature and history of the Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois settlement shows in a measure the obstacles which deterred the more timid and less resolute. These obstacles were far greater in the wilderness

[32] Blackman, *History of Susquehanna County, Penn.*, 545.

of the far west than those east of the mountains to which the Pennsylvania colony succumbed.

Of the English settlement in Indiana and its relative importance in 1820, John Woods, who lived two years in the Illinois prairie settlement, and was not biased against the Indiana colony, says:[33]

> There is an English settlement in Indiana about ten miles back of Evansville, I have heard, better watered, and nearer markets than we; but it is in the woods and the land is inferior to ours. This is the account I have received of it, but I know nothing only from the report of those who have no interest in either settlement.
>
> I have no personal knowledge of Mr. Hornbrook or Mr. Maidlow, the heads of that settlement; and should any person see my account of this part of the country and come to America, I would advise him to see both settlements before he fixed in either.

Faux's travels west of the Alleghenies, a round trip of over 1,600 miles, were made to visit an old friend, John Ingle, of Saundersville, upon a compact made between him and John Ingle, of Somersham, who agreed to look after Faux's affairs during his absence, if the latter would visit his son in America. Faux spent five weeks in John Ingle's cabin, the picture of which is the frontispiece of his book.

With John Ingle, he visited New Harmony and Albion and Wanboro and was by Ingle introduced to George Flower and Birkbeck. Faux talked with both these men, as well as the third party connected with their quarrel, and his apparently confidential conversations with all of them are published by him, though of no public interest.

Faux's descriptions are without any literary merit, and so described in the English reviews of the time, and are only valuable as a record of facts which he saw, as he was doubtless honest. His sensibilities were so shocked by the simplicity, sacrifices and hardships of a life in the wilderness, of men and women raised in the old country, with its conveniences and comforts, that he was unable to describe them in anything but terms of impatience and coarse abuse.

It should be said that when he visited the settlement in

[33] Woods, *English Prairie*, 251; Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X, 321.

November, 1819, it was in its infancy, so to speak, in the agonies of birth, and things were at their worst. In a short time many of the conditions Faux describes improved and most of his dire predictions were never verified. His narration deals with events of trifling importance in the daily life of the people without sense of propriety or proportions of most of them. The privacy of the lives of the people was no shield from his attacks. The Saundersville settlement, with its people and its surroundings, occupies a greater portion of the diary of which his volume is composed than any other single subject in the book. It is particularly valuable, however, as it is the only published record of the early time, other than Woods' reference above set ont, in which any information whatever is given of the settlement in Indiana.

George Flower, who wrote his book forty years later, mentions Hornbrook, Ingle and Maidlow. He knew them all well, and knew that they all had intended to join his settlement, that Ingle came over in his ship with him, and that Hornbrook was the father of the Indiana settlement, so called by Woods and Faux, and he had ground to believe that Hornbrook did not like him. He goes out of his way, and of the facts, to avoid mentioning the Indiana colony, nowhere mentioned in his book, when in speaking only once of Hornbrook, he says:[34]

> It was in 1818 or 1819 that Mr. Hornbrook of Devizes, Devonshire, called on me, as he came to see the settlement; but having made previous decision to remain at Pigeon Creek, Indiana, where Evansville now stands.

For the latter statement no foundation existed. Hornbrook located at once where he remained, as already stated.

The British view of the importance of the emigration movement so vividly described in Birkbeck's *Notes* is thus given in the Edinburgh *Review*:[35]

> The spectacle presented by America during the last thirty or forty years—ever since her emancipation began to produce its full effect, and since she fairly entered the lists as an independent nation with a completely popular government, has been, beyond everything formerly known

[34] *History of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, 162.
[35] Edinburgh *Review, June*, 1818, XXX 121.

in the history of mankind, imposing and instructive. In order to contemplate its wonders with complete advantage, an observer ought to have visited the New World twice in the course of a few years. A single view is insufficient to exhibit this progress in the States already settled; for there, quickly as the changes are going on, the process of creation is not actually seen at once, or disclosed, as it were, to the eye; some interval of time must be allowed, and the comparison then shows the extent of the wonderful change. But the extraordinary state of things in the western part of the Union, developed by Mr. Birkbeck, shows us the process both of colonization and increase at one glance. We see exposed to the naked eye, the whole mystery of the generation as well as the growth of nations; we at once behold in what manner the settled parts of America are increasing with unparalleled rapidity; and how new and extensive communities are daily created in the plains and the forests of the west, by the superfluous population of the eastern settlements. Those settlements assume a novel and a striking aspect.

Predicting the future of the settlements in Illinois and Indiana, the *Review* adds:

A frugal and industrious people here established is morally certain of rising to the rank of a great state in the course of a few generations.

In closing the article, the *Review* adds:[36]

It is impossible to close this interesting volume, without casting our eyes upon the marvelous empire of which Mr. Birkbeck paints the growth in colours far more striking than any heretofore used in portraying it. Where is this prodigious increase of numbers, this vast extension of dominion to end? What bounds has nature set to the progress of this mighty nation? Let our jealousy burn as it may, let our intolerance of America be as unreasonably violent as we please; still it is plain, that she is a power in spite of us, rapidly rising to supremacy; or, at least, that each year so mightily augments her strength, as to overtake, by a most sensible distance, even the most formidable of her competitors.

George Flower, who had been the guest of Thomas Jefferson the previous winter, wrote the latter, asking his aid in the effort to get an act of congress for the purchase of 40,000 acres in one body. Mr. Jefferson answered the letter, promising his aid.[37]

Not on the selfish principle of increasing our population at the expense of other nations, for the additions are but as a drop in a bucket to those

[36] Edinburgh *Review*, XXX, 137.
[37] George Flower, *English Settlement in Edwards County*, 178.

by natural procreation, but to consecrate a sanctuary for those whom the misrule of Europe may compel to seek happiness in other climes, this refuge, once known, will produce reaction, even to those there, by warning their task-masters that when the evils of Egyptian oppression become heavier than those of abandonment of country, another Canaan is opened, where their subjects will be received as brothers and secured from like oppression by a participation in the rights of self-government.

After eloquently setting forth the advantages and blessings of good government, a motive, he continues in his letter:

> You have set your country a good example, by showing them a practicable mode of reducing their rulers to the necessity of becoming more wise, more moderate, and more honest, and I sincerely pray that the example may work for the benefit of those who cannot follow it, as it will for your own.

### Organization of Local Government

The organization of county and township government in Vanderburgh county began in 1818, contemporaneously with the coming of the British emigrants. These were not treated as foreigners and regarded themselves a part of the body of the county, owners of the soil and ready to take an active part in all civic duties. While members of the settlement in the beginning were located very closely together, with Saundersville as the village center, it was never a separate communtiy, so far as sympathies with American ideals and surroundings were concerned.

Treating the members of the British settlement as a separate source of influence, with ideals and culture transplanted from the old world into the wilderness of the new, there may be said to have been at the beginning two other classes of people in Vanderburgh county, the influence of which may be for the time separately traced. These were best represented by the southern backwoodsmen and their leaders, men of strong personality, and a few men from New England, New York and other Atlantic coast States.

At this period in the union of all these elements, was the beginning of a new and composite social and political order in this locality, less homogeneous in some respects than its surroundings, including the population south of the river, but more cosmopolitan as the result of such a union.

Warrick county had been the parent county, which from 1814 to 1818 had furnished local government in a most primitive manner, over large territory, mostly a wilderness. Previous to that time, Vincennes, the territorial county seat of Knox county, had been the nearest seat of justice, too far distant to be of much service to the few scattered settlers. By an unwritten law, the right of self-defense and the doctrine of immediate personal responsibility for a violation of individual rights, among the natives, maintained order, sufficient for the time.

Vincennes was the capital of the territory and the mother city of the northwest during this period. Princeton was incorporated in 1814 and was a thriving village described by Faux in 1819[38] as containing 105 houses, 19 streets, one prison and one meeting house. Henderson, Kentucky, then known as Red Banks, was near the western boundary of immigration in Kentucky in 1803 and earlier, and was early an organized community of commercial influence, with a church and school, including an excellent Female Seminary. In this town the first Evansville merchants bought much of their stocks. The route of travel across the river from Kentucky into Indiana through Vanderburgh county, was over the ferry at the mouth of Green river, the ferry opposite Evansville, and the ferry at Red Banks, between which point and Vincennes there was considerable travel. In low water the Indian trail crossed the Ohio river at a ford already described.

In the first decade of the last century, the immigrants from Kentucky, who were practical woodsmen and familiar with the nature of the soil, passed by the high land of central and north Vanderburgh county, which was not so productive as the lands in Gibson and Posey counties. A majority of these immigrants from Kentucky settled in what later became Gibson county on the north, in preference to the locality of Vanderburgh county.

Before the English came, there were already upon the ground several leading men born in England, who had emi-

[38] *Thwaite's Early Western Travels,* XI, 224.

grated to the Atlantic coast States, and who had come westward with the tide of emigration through Virginia and Kentucky into Indiana. Samuel Scott, Everton Kennerly, Richard Carlisle, the Prichetts and some of the Fairchilds, though of English birth, were as distinctly American as were any of the natives among whom they intermingled.

These men immediately identified themselves with members of the English settlement, and on the other hand, the latter became identified with all matters of public interest equally with the natives. The act of the legislature creating Vanderburgh county named the house of Samuel Scott—the center of the settlement to be—as the place of meeting of the commissioners named in the act, to select the county seat, and Evansville was thus chosen.

Richard Carlisle had been a justice of peace in Warrick, before Vanderburgh county was formed. He was a blacksmith, and the only man, shown by the records, who held his own in personal encounter with the turbulent Hugh McGary, the younger.

Everton Kennerly, like Carlisle, of English birth, a brother-in-law of Samuel Scott, was a natudal leader and one of the most active and useful public men in the township, town and county for many years.

Elisha Harrison, a second cousin of William Henry Harrison, former territorial governor of Indiana, and later President of the United States, lived, when the county was formed, on a farm west of Samuel Scott, and represented Warrick county in the legislature when Vanderburgh was created, when he moved to Evansville. He was a native, of Virginia Revolutionary stock, and the first state senator elected from Vanderburgh county. He was an able man, of many excellent traits, public spirited, well educated and until his death in 1825 or 1826, was in the front of every public movement, and freely invested his fortune in public enterprises, more perhaps than any man of his time. He established and maintained the Evansville *Weekly Gazette* at a loss for about four and one-half years.[39] With a mechanic

[39] The Evansville *Gazette* had a contract for publishing the laws of congress, and the state department saved about three and one-half years issue of the paper,

as a partner, he built the first courthouse in the county. The owner of the ferry on the Ohio at Evansville was indicted for neglect of this public duty. Harrison bought his equipment, erected or purchased a tavern on a Water street lot, took out a license for the ferry in his own name and maintained it opposite "Chutes" Tavern. When salt works were the most desirable addition to the town then hoped for, Harrison, at much expense, with his partner in general merchandise, James W. Jones, sank a well on Pigeon creek and found salt water at 463 feet, which event was announced with great expectations, and furnished the occasion for a short but valuable sketch of Evansville in 1824.[40] He was brigadier general in the militia.[41]

Ratliff Boone, born in Georgia, a grandson of Israel Boone, brother of Daniel Boone, lived in Boonville, Warrick county, was lieutenant governor and governor of Indiana, and for many years congressman of this district.

Robert M. Evans, a man of much prominence, and James W. Jones, both of Princeton, came to Evansville about 1819. Evans came to Knox county in 1805. When Gibson county was organized in 1814 he became and remained county clerk for over four years. Col. William M. Cockrum, whose father lived a few miles east of Evans, says he was during that time the leading man in the county and managed its business affairs.[42]

David Hart, son of one of the Hart brothers, of Richard Henderson & Co., in pioneer Kentucky, was first circuit judge of Vanderburgh county, and lived in Princeton.

James R. E. Goodlett, born in Virginia, was for more than ten years his successor as circuit judge, and lived in Vanderburgh county.

Hugh McGary, the elder, with his family came out of North Carolina with Daniel Boone in 1775, was an Indian

now in the Congressional Library, the only copy in existence. It has escaped the historian.

[40] Evansville *Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1824.

[41] *Id.*, May 7, 1823.

[42] Ex-Governor Joseph Lane gives to Evans and Ratliff Boone a place of prominence among the men of the State. *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 102.

fighter of undisputed bravery, and a figure of the heroic age in the west. In his old age, he settled in Knox county about 1804 and died there in 1806 near where Princeton was later located. The McGarys lived in that locality when in 1812 Hugh McGray, the younger, entered fractional section 30, upon which Evansville was later located. As such original proprietor he became a local celebrity in Evansville, concerning whom a number of historical facts exist in the records, some of which have been incorrectly recorded in local history.

James W. Jones was from Kentucky and was clerk of Vanderburgh county for many years and was the head of a family of influence. His son, James Gerard Jones, was first mayor of the city of Evansville and in 1859 was attorney general of Indiana. He was probably related to John G. Jones, the first chairman of the Committee of Safety in the county of Kentucky, before it became a state. John G. Jones was murdered by Indians December 25, 1776. John G. Jones was succeeded as such chairman by Hugh McGary, the elder, upon whom the women and children in Kentucky much depended for safety in the Indian wars. Jones, Evans and McGary platted Evansville as it was permanently located in 1817.

Joseph Lane,[43] born in Kentucky, became a citizen of Vanderburgh county when his farm on two sides was made the line between that county and Warrick. Boone legislated Lane out of his county, as the latter was a man of great popularity. This fact accounts for the irregular eastern line of Vanderburgh county.[44] He defeated Evans in the race for the legislature in Vanderburgh county, of which Evans gives an amusing explanation in the Evansville *Gazette*. Lane became governor of and United States senator from Oregon and was an unsuccessful candidate before the people of the United States on the Breckenridge and Lane Presidential ticket in 1860.

General Washington Johnston, the earliest member of the Vincennes bar, came there from Virginia in 1792. He was

[43] An adequate sketch of General Joseph Lane is found in Woolen's *Sketches of Early Indiana Leaders*.

[44] *Warrick and Its Prominent People*, Fortune, 73, note.

before the public in many forms during his life.[45] He was a revolutionary soldier.[46] In 1819 when the panic affected the country so that the grain rotted in the fields and Vincennes lost one-half of its population[47], Johnston came to

In 1824 half the houses in Evansville were vacant, said to have been the result of sickness in the locality, but it is probable the panic still existing had much to do with it. Autobiography of Joseph Tarkington, 99.

Evansville, where he lived not over a year, but during 1819, the record shows that he was deputy county clerk. He speculated in land in all the neighboring counties, as their deed records show, but he returned to Vincennes.

George W. Lindsay, another attorney of the Vincennes bar, came at the same time with Johnston, was prosecuting attorney of Vanderburgh county, one term of court in 1819. He became the first probate judge in Vanderburgh county in 1829, served many years, and died here. His wife and two daughters moved to Posey county.

Levi Igleheart, Sr., from Tidewater, Maryland, settled in Kentucky in 1815, where his sons, Asa and Levi, Jr., were born and in 1823 he settled in Warrick county, Indiana, on the eastern boundary of the English settlement, where his son William was born; near this point, then and later, a dozen English families including the Lockyears, settled. Two of his sons married daughters and one a niece of John Ingle, of Saundersville, all granddaughters of John Ingle, of Somersham. One of his daughters married Mark Wheeler, and one John Erskine.

These men were all from Kentucky or came from Virginia or more southerly states through Kentucky. They were chief among the native leaders of the earliest settlers with whom the English emigrants mingled upon their arrival or soon afterwards. There were a number of other intelligent, successful and influential people from the south and east, as well as from Great Britain, who lived in and near Evansville during this period, but it is beyond the scope of this article to write a history of early Evansville, or even to furnish a

[45] Dunn, *History of Indiana,* 355.
[46] *Indiana Magazine of History,* June, 1914, p. 54.
[47] Esarey, *History of Indiana,* Vol. 1, p. 280 and note.

list of the names of its leading citizens. The scattered settlers in the counties bordering on the north side of the Ohio river were chiefly from the south and brought with them southern ideals. These leaders from the south represented the great body of the scattered backwoodsmen when the English came, who, with those from New York and New England and the leaders of the British settlement,

> were all stern men with Empires in their brains.

The definite and prompt protection of individual rights, under the enforcement of law, had been uncertain in the backwoods of the west. Public opinion sometimes justified methods in private life, which in the older communities were regarded as lawless, and turbulent spirits, under the influence of liquor, sometimes defied the law.

Complaint was made by Faux, Fearon and other travelers, as well as by Cobbett and by Dr. Johnson (both of whom were biased in their judgments), in the war of pamphlets between the British colonies east and west of the Alleghenies, that such a condition existed in this section at the time of which we write. In speaking of this subject, Dr. Johnson, who had never been west of the mountains, wrote:[48]

> I had formed an erroneous opinion of a woodsman. I expected to find rude manners; but the people here behave with great civility and propriety. I have not heard a single instance of profane language, or indecent expression, in this settlement. An air of comfort pervades the habitations of the humblest kind; and in general, the demeanour of the wife shows her to have her full share of the family control. These people are almost all from the New England States; by which name is designated the section of country north and east of New York, which has always been remarked for the enterprise and good moral conduct of its citizens. To the inhabitants of this section of the United States, who are also distinguished by their shrewdness, the term Yankee is applied; and not, as it is understood in England, to all the States. A Yankee, therefore, means a native of New England. The civility of disposition in which they are educated at home, is taken abroad with them, and they are said to form a class of settlers far superior to those who emigrate from the southern States to the western wilderness.

Flower intimates that Johnson was a land speculator and the history of the Pennsylvania settlement adds color to that

[48] C. B. Johnson, M. D., *Letters from the British Settlement in Penn.*, 111.

suspicion. The latter had not lived among the woodsmen and allowance should be made for a strong bias against the far west.

If the proper allowance be made for the lapse of time, required in the successive waves of emigration from the Atlantic coast frontier to the frontier in the wilderness along the Ohio and the Wabash rivers in 1818, it will appear that the men on the frontier first mentioned, in 1750 and later, had much the same "boisterous tastes and dangerous amusements of frontiersmen" as those on the latter "from the south," as Johnson reports, quoting the very guarded admission of a distinguished New England Historian.[49]

The North Atlantic coast States had their share of bond servants and redemptioners as well as the southern States.[50] As late as 1820, the rabid anti-American reviews in England were quoting Dr. Johnson's remark "that the Americans are a race of convicts, and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short or hanging."[51]

The effect and necessities of the institution of slavery had prevented the emigration of independent foreign labor into the south to any considerable extent. The southern people were a homogeneous people and so remained. The English people were hostile to slavery. Those emigrants who preferred slave labor passed on to Missouri, in large numbers. The institution of slavery and its necessities in molding the law, public opinion, and customs of the people, were objectionable to anti-slavery Englishmen and to anti-slavery people in America.

In fact, the original location for the English settlement, later made in the Illinois prairie, by Birkbeck and Flower, of which the Indiana settlement was a part would probably have been in Virginia, but for the existence of slavery in that State. George Flower spent his first winter with Thomas Jefferson (as a distinguished guest) at his home in

[49] Albert Bushnell Hart, *Formation of the Union,* 18.

[50] John R. Commons, *Industrial History of the U. S.,* 42. Commons estimates that probably one-half of all the immigrants landed in the colonial period as indentured servants. The Plymouth settlers brought with them "bond servants." Moore's *Industrial History of the American People,* 109.

[51] *Electic Review,* May, 1820, 401.

Virginia, and seriously considered establishing his colony there. Birkbeck vetoed the plan on account of slavery.[52]

On the north side of the Ohio river, new conditions existed. A fierce struggle for the control of Indiana by slave owners, from the time of establishment of the territory until the admission of the State in 1816, for a while practically maintained slavery in form in the territory[53]; but it was forbidden on the admission of the State to the Union.

It cannot be denied that among the intellectual and leading men in this community of that time, who came from Kentucky, Virginia and North Carolina, the English and New England, idea of maintenance of public order by law, without the doctrine of personal responsibility for a personal affront, did not have always the fullest support.

Faux himself, indulging in one of his inconsistent moods, gave a very plausible reason why fear of instant punishment for an insult was often a preventive more effective than the fear of possible punishment by law in the distant future. He also gave an excuse for carrying side-arms in Kentucky, as necessary to protection of law-abiding citizens from the gouging and nose-biting rowdies, when in liquor. Judge David Hart resigned as judge soon after his election or appointment, on account of a challenge he had given.[54] Judge J. R. E. Goodlett, of the circuit court, was indicted by the grand jury for provoke and assault in drawing a sword cane. His two associate judges, both laymen, quashed the indictment on the ground, as the record shows, that the law on which the indictment was based was *unconstitutional.* While on the bench he had a newspaper controversy with Robert M. Evans, started by the latter, resulting in recriminations, and Colonel Cockrum is authority for the statement that a duel to the death between them was avoided only by the severest measures of mutual friends. After Goodlett retired from the bench, he assaulted Judge Samuel Hall, his successor, while presiding in court on the bench and was im-

[52] Thwaite, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 240.
[53] Dunn, *History of Indiana*, Chapters VI and IX.
[54] Thwaite, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 215.

prisoned for contempt. The members of the bar of the circuit published a statement condemning him.[55]

Robert M. Evans, Elisha Harrison, Hugh McGary and all of his brothers, State Senator, later Governor Ratliff Boone, and others were indicted and tried for misdemeanors, generally assault and battery. Some well-known persons were indicted for more serious offenses. Doubtless it was true that resort was had to the grand jury in a number of cases then, which to us now seem trivial. Probably the excuses for such very strict and frequent use of the law existed in the fact that there was in the beginning a vicious, lawless and dangerous element in the lower classes, which without the fear of the law, stopped at nothing. It did not hesitate to defy the law at the beginning, and until the supremacy of the law was fully vindicated, which , as will appear, was soon done. It needs no argument to make clear that even the lawless element of that period, as they appear to us now, became such in part at least, as the result of the great sarcifice made by them and their ancestors in performing their work, of conquering and holding the land west of the mountains from the Indians. For several generations they had been sentinels on the border of civilization. But for this work also, in occupying the land conquered by George Rogers Clark, the treaty between Great Britain and the Colonies at the close of the Revolutionary war would have left the territory north of the Ohio river part of Canada, as England then regarded it.[56]

The historian, after describing the rugged frontiersmen and backwoodsmen of the "up country," says:

> Had the settlement of Kentucky depended on the achievement of Tidewater Virginians, it would be at this moment a kingdom of red Indians and a pasture for wild buffaloes.[57]

But the issue was now to be settled in the new State of Indiana, between law and order on the one hand and lawlessness on the other. John Law, a young lawyer of Vincennes, a native of Connecticut, had just begun the practice of law in

[55] *History of Posey County* (Chicago, 1886), 432.

[56] George Elliott Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution,* 241. C. H. Van Tyne, *The American Revolution,* 271-284.

[57] Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky,* 25.

Vincennes, when he was appointed prosecuting attorney for Vanderburgh county. He served as the first prosecutor, beginning with the March term, 1818, and continued for more than two years, when he resigned. He was an efficient prosecutor, as the records which have been preserved show, but the order book records of the circuit court of the county for 1818 and 1819 are not preserved.[58] Some years later he moved to Evansville.

For many years following John Law as prosecutor, Amos Clark was the prosecuting attorney. He came from New York State when first Evansville was made the county seat. He was an educated man and a very able lawyer. He was upon one side or the other of practically all of the cases, and sole attorney in very many cases which did not require adverse representation of counsel in court. He was a man of high moral character, had high ideals, and was fearless in the administration of the law. He prosecuted some of the leading men of the community and their relatives, as already stated. Several men of prominence in the beginning of Evansville were lawless spirits and attempted to defy the law and public opinion. With these men Amos Clark measured, and within four or five years the records show he had vindicated the law and thoroughly broken up all attempts to defy it. The community owes more to Amos Clark than is known.

Charles I. Battell, a Massachusetts lawyer, was for a short time the prosecuting attorney, and later, in the 30's, judge of the circuit court. Alanson Warner was from Connecticut, was the second man elected to the office of sheriff and was a tactful, useful, and influential man in the community for a generation.[59]

In this enforcement of the law, the grand juries were the source of power, and much of the time the leading and dominating men upon the grand jury were from the British set-

[58] *Life of John Law*, by Charles Denby. *Indiana Historical Soc. Pub.*, V. I, No. 7.

[59] His shrewd character may be seen in an advertisement in the *Gazette* warning tax payers to pay, but offering to take produce at his tavern from farmers as credit on their taxes—a real accommodation to the people in an almost moneyless age. Evansville *Gazette*, May 31, 1824.

tlement, and at all times there were representatives of that settlement upon the grand jury. In like manner this element was prominent in the trial of cases on the regular panel of the jury of the court, which tried men indicted for offenses against the law. In matters of public opinion in support of the law, there were a number of men in the settlement who were very influential and of great value in supporting the administration of justice. Particularly among these were Robert Parrett and Joseph Wheeler, ministers of the gospel, whose careers formed a very important part of the development of this community for a period of thirty years.

### THE EARLY HOOSIERS

It may be interesting at this point to speak of the body of Hoosier settlers, with whom the English came in contact, who were not so prominent as the leaders mentioned. For the reason already given, the rich country around where Princeton is now located had been settled a number of years earlier than Vanderburgh county. Upon the coming of the English, Princeton, then two years old, was chosen as headquarters by Birkbeck, Flower and Fordham, where they lived before the settlement in the prairie in Illinois was prepared for them. All of these persons frequently mention Princeton and its people.

John Ingle, one of the leaders of the Indiana colony, lived one season in Princeton before coming to the Saundersville settlement. So the travelers of the time, who all visited New Harmony, usually came or went by Princeton and Vincennes, on account of good accommodations for travelers in roads and taverns and Princeton is frequently mentioned in the literature of the time. The subsequent history of Princeton and Gibson county establishes the fact that the body of the people of this town were a fair type of the people in the country, in no substantial degree different, and were of the same origin, already referred to. They were a fair type of Hoosier pioneers, who located in Indiana from 1801 to 1818.[60]

[60] *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington.* A representative native pioneer, born in 1800 in Tennessee, of poor but respectable North Carolina parentage,

The fairest description of the common people of southern Indiana in 1817 and 1818, which we have seen, was written by Morris Birkbeck, who sought to discover all that was good in them, but who stated both sides in his descriptions. In the article already cited, from the Edinburgh *Review* of June, 1818, so fully reviewing Birkbeck's *Notes on America,* occurs the following:[61]

> The rapidity with which new settlements are formed in this manner, is illustrated by Mr. Birkbeck's whole book; but nothing tends more clearly to show it than the state of society which he found at Princeton, where he took up his abode while his land was preparing to receive him. This is a small town, placed at the further limit of Indiana, and founded only two years before our author's arrival. It contained fifty houses; was the county town of the district; and contained (says Mr. B) as many "well informed, genteel people, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as any county town I am acquainted with." "I think," he adds, "there are half as many individuals who are entitled to that distinction as there are houses; and not one decidedly vicious character, nor one that is not able and willing to maintain himself."

His notes and letters contain many other descriptions of the plain people. One of the best descriptions of the country and the people in Indiana and Ohio at a period earlier than that described by Birkbeck is found in the *Travels* of John Bradbury in 1809-1811, published by him in 1819, with comments of that later time, reviewing and discriminating unfriendly criticism of travelers who rapidly passed through the county, similar to those already mentioned. In regard to the manners of the people west of the Alleghenies, he says, on account of the mixture of so many races and elements, it would be absurd to expect that a general character could then be formed, or that it would be for many years to come. After referring to the entire absence of feeling existing be-

came with his parents in 1815 to Patoka, in Gibson county, Indiana, to live in a free territory. Later the family settled in Monroe county. He was converted in that county, spent a short time in the Indiana Seminary under Hall, principal, was persuaded by the circuit riders to enter the Methodist ministry and later travelled the Vevay circuit in which Eggleston lived. He lived over seventy-five years in Indiana. His simple account of pioneer life as real history is worth more than the novels of any writer of fiction, either dialectic, or otherwise. He was the father of the late John S. Tarkington, a prominent citizen of Indianapolis, and grandfather of Booth Tarkington, the author.

[61] Edinburgh *Review*, XXX, 136.

tween classes, as in Europe, and the equality in natural rights asserted by and conceded to the humblest citizen, Bradbury says:[62]

Travelers from Europe, in passing through the western country or indeed any part of the United States, ought to be previously acquainted with this part of the American character, and more particularly if they have been in the habit of treating with contempt, or irritating with abuse, those whom accidental circumstances may have placed in a situation to administer to their wants. Let no one here indulge himself in abusing the waiter or hostler at the inn; that waiter or hostler is probably a citizen, and does not, nor can he, conceive that a situation in which he discharges a duty to society, not in itself dishonorable, should subject him to insult, but this feeling, so far as I have experienced, is entirely defensive. I have travelled near ten thousand miles in the United States and never received the least incivility or affront.

There is nothing in Birkbeck's description of the people of Princeton with whom he and Flower and Fordham, with their families, mingled, when they lived there, inconsistent with the descriptions of Edward Eggleston's novel, *The Hoosier School Master*, nor those of Baynard Rush Hall in the *New Purchase*. The difference is in the view point.

Consistent with all Birkbeck says, had he been searching for material for a dialect story of low Hoosier life, he would probably have found it in Princeton.

This was the purpose of Eggleston, who found what he sought.[63] As a correct description of Hoosier dialect in low life, the writer can testify that practically all of his dialect phrases and words are true to life and as such a dialect study the work is a classic. But while the author never made any claim that the book contains any description of the better class of Hoosiers who lived in southern Indiana at the beginning of the State, or the time of which he writes, he fails to guard that class against the opinion so generally formed out of the State that he was describing its people.

Dr. Eggleston knew the interpretation the literary world put upon the *Hoosier School Master*, as a portrayal of early Hoosier life. He found it necessary to vindicate his own

[62] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, V, 292.

[63] Edward Eggleston, *Hoosier Schoolmaster*, As to dialect in Southern Indiana, see also *The Hoosiers*, by Meredith Nicholson, 45.

origin from the suspicion of common birth and low associations.[64] In 1890 he published an autobiographical sketch, a delightful article, the chief purpose of which seems to be to clear his memory and that of his ancestors.[65]

Among the many of such unfriendly interpretations was one by the *Atlantic Monthly,* in reviewing one of his novels, which he says in his introduction to his biography, sympathetically remarked on the hardship it must have been to a "highly organized man" to be born in southern Indiana, in an age of hard-cider campaigns. In resenting this, and praising Vevay, his birthplace, he confines his defense or eulogy to the beauty of its location and of the natural scenery surrounding it—"one of the loveliest villages on the Ohio river," but there is nothing in defense of the much misunderstood Hoosiers who lived there. The following sentence seems significant at this point:

> I changed to the larger Indiana towns, along the Ohio river, where there was a semi-urban life of considerable refinement.

Only speaking of his own family he says he was "born in an intellectual atmosphere." While he vindicated himself and his family, he left it to time and to others, to do full justice to the better class of early Hoosier people. It cannot be doubted that this silence on the author's part, upon the interpretation thus widely given to this work, the most popular of all his books, was intentional on his part and that he had a motive in not "meddling" with the subject.

Two years later in 1892—he published a Library Edition of the book with a long and elaborate preface, which he calls a biography of the book, dealing with the history and character of the work, its wonderful success, and declares it to be the file leader of American dialect novels. His discussion along that line is novel and very interesting. He says:

> This initial novel, the favorite of the larger public, has become inseparably associated with my name. I could not write in this vein now, if I would, and twenty-one years have made so many changes in me *that I dare not make any but minor changes in this work.* The author of the

[64] Introduction to Library Edition *Hoosier Schoolmaster,* 26.
[65] *The Forum,* Nov., 1890, p. 290.

*Hoosier Schoolmaster* is distinctly not I; I am but his heir and executor; and since he is a more popuar writer than I, *why should I meddle with his work.*

No one knows so well as I the faults of immaturity and inexperience that characterize this book, but perhaps the pubic is right in preferring an author's first book, etc.

Here seems to be an explanation why the author had determined to keep "hands off" the book. Without discussing that subject, it seems clear that as a dialect novel of low life only, it is irrelevant, and should be excluded as a history of the better class of Hoosiers of that time. The writer has always regarded Dr. Eggleston as one of the leading American men of letters, of whom the Hoosiers should be justly proud. In his sketch of his life mentioned, he traces his ancestry on one side to the old Virginia aristocracy, and his short characterization of that people as they appeared to him, is a masterpiece, worthy of reproduction here. After stating that at sixteen, after his father's death, he was sent to live for a year in Virginia, he says:

The change from a free to a slave state, not yet entirely out of its pioneer crudities, to a society so fixed and conservative as that of the Old Dominion, was as great as the United States afforded at that time.

The old Virginia country-gentleman life had a fascination not possessed by any other society in the new world.

With its unbounded hospitality to all comers, its enormous family pride, its sharp line of distinction between the well-born and the plebeian, its social refinement, its narrow local prejudices, its chivalrous and romantic sentiment toward ladies, and a certain laxity of morals growing out of the existence of a slave class, it could not fail to excite a profound interest in the mind of one who had been bred in a simpler and less dignified society, in which proprieties were less regarded, and moralities somewhat more rigidly enforced. According to the Virginia method of reckoning, I was cousin to a large fraction of the population of the State; and I found myself a member of a powerful clan, at once domesticated, and given singular opportunities for knowing a life, which, in the new world and in the middle years of the nineteenth century was a curious anachronism.

The Virginians themselves I found a most lovable people, and admirable in their generosity and high sense of honor in public and private affairs. Even if their recklessness of danger and disregard of human life, where family or personal pride was involved, were barbarisms, they were at least barbarisms of the nobler sort. * * * Though I saw slavery

in its mildest forms among my relations I could not be blind to the manifold injustice and the unavoidable cruelties of the system.

Between the lines of this charming description may be observed a reserve, as though the author was addressing the American cosmopolitan world, which many believe centers east of the Alleghenies and north of the Potomac. At the same time his description seems to be full of sympathy. It is the conception of a man born in the north, of good southern stock, with northern education, rearing and ideals.

Had Eggleston remained west, in that deep sympathy with western life found in the character sketches of Judge James Hall,[66] of the same class of people described in Eggleston's work generally, it may be questioned whether his method of treatment would have been the same. Or, if so, whether he would not at least have made a reasonable effort to anticipate the unfriendly effect which his work was destined to produce upon the reputation of the early Hoosier pioneers, outside of the State. It is to be regretted that he neglected at this last opportunity to say a word on the subject.

Had Baynard Hall sought to find the coarse exhibitions of uncultured and ignorant people in Princeton, such as he described in the *New Purchase,* no doubt he could have found them. Many counterparts of his caricatures of offensive habits of common people could probably then and later have been found in New Jersey had he hunted for them there as he did in Indiana. His book is written anonymously and individuals are attacked under assumed names so that a key to the book is required. One future governor of the State, James Whitcomb, was grossly caricatured, if not libeled. Upon the character of Joseph A. Wright, later governor, United States senator and United States minister to Prussia, was put a wholly uncalled for imputation. Hall's criticisms against the camp-meetings are severe. They are caricatured in a relentless manner with no expressions of sympathy with the people, nor their religious emotion, to mitigate the bitterness. His style is not unlike that of a theological con-

[66] See note 70.

troversialist of that age. Roosevelt truthfully describes in a sympathetic manner all of the scenes and conduct caricatured by Hall, but in a kindly spirit:

> But though this might seem distasteful to an observer of education and self-restraint, it thrilled the heart of the rude and simple backwoodsman and reached him as he could not possibly have been reached in any other manner. On the whole there was an immense gain for good. The people received a new light and were given a sense of moral responsibility such as they had not previously possessed.[67]

Against such unfair treatment of irresponsible critics, Roosevelt's virtues:

> Plead like angels trumpet-tongued

with the descendants of the men of the "Western Waters."

The descriptions of early life and events in Indiana in the *New Purchase* are many of them very delightful. The daily life and experiences of men and women in their work, in the woods, their travels, and in their home life, described by Hall as he saw it, will always remain an interesting and truthful picture of the pioneer age of Indiana that has passed. It cannot be denied, however, that his view point of the people is that of a leading actor in the play of Hoosier life, where he failed to succeed, and he makes no effort to disguise his bitterness as a bad loser.

Strictures in these pages upon the man east of the Alleghenies and north of the Potomac are only intended for that class of people who have shown contempt for western people and western manners. The westerners have been misunderstood by such.[68] There were from the beginning tactful and liberal-minded Yankees and New Yorkers who adjusted perfectly to pioneer life and were among the most useful citizens. Some of them are mentioned among the early leaders with whom the English mingled on their arrival in the wilderness. Some of them have furnished the best record now existing of the Hoosier pioneers. Until after the public

[67] *Winning of the West* (The Men of the Western Waters), IV, 249.

[68] Crothers makes this clear in his comments on this class, including no less a person than James Russell Lowell, who calls the westerner "The Western Goth"—*The Pardoner's Wallet—Land of the free and charitable air*—160.

school system of Indiana was established, this class was the chief reliance of the city of Evansville for teachers.

Hall was wrecked on the shoals which even today confronts every eastern man who for the first time comes west as a minister or teacher among western people—shoals which a tactless and narrowminded man cannot successfully navigate.

Roosevelt truly says:

> The opinion of any mere passer through a country is always less valuable than of an intelligent man who dwells and works among the people and who possesses both insight and sympathy.[69]

Such a writer was Judge James Hall, a Philadelphian, educated to the bar, who served in the army, settled at Shawneetown, Illinois, in 1820. He was circuit judge during which he spent half his time on horseback traveling the circuit across the State and was in close touch with the whole people. Later he was treasurer of the State of Illinois, edited a magazine and wrote a number of interesting books on western life.[70] He was a leading man in the State, of his time. With a knowledge of these people among whom he spent his life and succeeded, he has given a fair, truthful and charming sketch of their character, free from the blemish of caricaturists, who have done so much to prejudice the people east of Indiana against the early Hoosiers. Frequently his description of the rustic class is just as vivid as is that found in the *New Purchase* or *The Hoosier School Master,* but it is given in a kindly spirit.

Isaac Reid, a Presbyterian missionary, was pastor for a year of a New Albany church in 1818, and for about ten years later lived in southern Indiana and had every opportunity of knowing and knew the people as well as any man of his time. His impartial and manifestly truthful descriptions of the intelligent and cultured class of Hoosiers, places them on an equality with those of any section in the old Northwest.[71]

Birkbeck and George Flower lived among and studied

[69] *Winning of the West.* Pt. 4, Ch. 1, 29.

[70] His best descriptions of people of this section are found in his *Romance of Western History or Sketches of History, Life and Manners of the West.*

[71] *Indiana as seen by Early Travelers*—Lindley, 473-497. See also Caleb Atwater *Id.* 530, and Charles E. Coffin, *Id.* 533.

these sturdy pioneers of the wilderness and with other friendly travelers and writers of that time, give many illustrations of the high traits of manhood, intelligence, independence, and good qualities shown by them under circumstances of the severe hardships of their lives. They place them above the common people of Europe and to some extent foretell the character of the coming natives of the west.

All this was accessible to Eggleston and Baynard Rush Hall. It is not believed that it was intentionally suppressed by them, but it was not to their purpose nor within their viewpoint. Under the guise of fiction or fictitious surroundings, writers without restraint, or any seeming sense of responsibility for consequences, have taken unfair liberties with society, sometimes with an intent inconsistent with fairness and justice, with sarcasm and ridicule without proper and fair discrimination in favor of the best. We refer to moral responsibility. The doctrine of legal responsibility for libel protects individuals from attacks of this kind whether open or covert.

Very recently a leading western publishing house, which issued a novel, was surprised with a libel suit in New York, upon the charge that under a fictitious name the author had lampooned a New York judge against whom he had a grievance, and on a trial the jury gave the plaintiff a verdict of thirty-five thousand dollars damages against the publisher.

Such material has been misleading and has furnished the man of the east the opportunity of exercising the undue and offensive familiarity of the elder to the younger brother in the west. There should be yet those, while a few of the children of those pioneers live, who have spent their youth among them, and who were in sympathy with them during their lives, who shall describe them, in truth and justice and kindness, without the intrusion of descriptions of a lower and disgusting class of humanity, to unfairly detract from a truthful picture. An excellent foundation for this is found in a recent magazine article, entitled "The Pioneer Aristocracy."[72] It is not fiction, it deals with facts. Very many

[72] Dr. Logan Esary. *Indiana Magazine of History, Sept.* 1918.

of them, furnishing a truthful picture of the life of the Hoosier pioneer. It is a normal and sane-minded description of a society which deserves the fairest and best treatment.

It is of the greatest importance that among the young people of Indiana there should be fostered a State pride, already existing with many people, not inferior to that to be found in any American commonwealth. They should be taught the beautiful, the true and the good in its history of which there is so much, rather than so great over-emphasis of the husks that are to be found in the history of the pioneers of any of the States.

Roosevelt's chapters on the Backwoodsmen of the Alleghenies and on the Men of the Western Waters contain a wealth of historical facts and descriptions of the traits of the native pioneer. His appreciative sympathy with the frontiersman has enabled him to furnish this as no other man has done. This has been supplemented by the work of Dr. Frederick Turner, who has been concerned with the reactive influences of the central west upon the east, with the development of institutions, and the later history of events in which he has been the best interpreter of the life of the people of this section of the time of which we write.

There were also men, a few of whom have been mentioned, living on the north side of the river at that time capable of giving fair, friendly and discriminating sketches of the men and women with whom they lived and who knew the sources of population out of which that composite society was formed, and who have left such a record.

These, with other writers, with the testimony of people still living who personally knew many of the men and women who were pioneers in the period mentioned, furnish a key to a fair and impartial history of the life and character of the Hoosier aristocracy yet to be written.

## NEIGHBORS OF LINCOLN

It is a coincidence that when Abraham Lincoln came to Indiana in the summer of 1816, a boy of seven years of age, he located in Perry county, then less than a mile from the line

of Warrick county, in which was then living Joseph Lane, who came from Kentucky in 1816.[73] Fourteen years later, Lincoln, then twenty-one years old, moved to Illinois. Still later, Joseph Lane moved to Oregon. In 1860, when the Lincoln and Hamlin Presidential ticket was elected, Joseph Lane was a candidate for Vice-President on the opposing ticket of Breckenridge and Lane.[74] It is generally assumed that Lincoln first came to Spencer county, a river county, which adjoins Warrick county on the east, but Spencer county was not created until the act of the legislature of January 10, 1818, was passed.[75] Warrick county, when created out of Knox county, March 9, 1813, extended from the Wabash river to Harrison county.[76] Nicolay and Hay[77] show an intimacy, with intermarriages, between the Boones and Lincolns of an early time, and that the grandfather of President Lincoln followed Daniel Boone to Kentucky. It is also true that the Lincolns, uncle and cousins of Abraham Lincoln, followed Squire Boone, brother of Daniel Boone, to Harrison county, Indiana,[78] and Thomas Lincoln, while following his brother to Indiana, settled within twenty miles of Ratliff Boone, of Boonville, Warrick county, who had lived in Indiana territory since 1809 and who represented Spencer county in congress, while the Lincolns lived there. Mr. J. Ed. Murr was reared near the Lincolns as neighbors in Harrison county.

[73] Fortune, *Warrick and its Prominent People,* 76.

[74] See note 43.

[75] *History of Warrick, Spencer and Perry Counties,* 277.

[76] *Id.,* 36.

[77] *Life of Lincoln,* V. I, p. 4.

[78] Squire Boone settled in Harrison county in 1802 and there Daniel Boone frequently visited and hunted, Wm. H. Roose, *Indiana's Birthplace—History of Harrison County,* p. 7. Ratliff Boone, congressman of the Lincolns, as well as of the people of the English settlement, when Abraham Lincoln was twenty and twenty-one years old and earlier, was a man of considerable education, but moved to Missouri late in the 30's and died there in the 40's. He was undoubtedly very familiar with his constituents, the Wheelers, Hillyards, Hornbrooks, Ingles, Maidlows and others, who had brought books from England, as well as the Lincolns and it is probable that Abraham Lincoln learned of the fact; whether he availed himself of the opportunity to read any of such books, history is silent. The Wheelers, Hillyards, Hornbrooks, Maidlows and Ingles were not living when the comparatively limited inquiries at a late date were made among Lincoln's acquaintances in Spencer county. A few of them, only, lived until Lincoln became President, and if any of the persons mentioned ever referred to his residence in southwestern Indiana so close to the settlement there is no one now living who heard and remembers it.

When Saunders Hornbrook, the original pioneer of the English settlement, located upon his choice in the wilderness in October or November, 1817, it was forty miles west of the farm of Thomas Lincoln, the location now occupied by Lincoln City in Spencer county.

In 1825, one of the pioneers elsewhere mentioned, in the eastern border of the settlement in Campbell township, Warrick county, about twenty miles west of where Lincoln lived, was a magistrate and later a lay judge and many years county commissioner in Warrick county.

Luke Grant, one of the settlement, built a mill at Millersburgh in 1825[79] still nearer the Lincoln farm, and it is not unlikely that Lincoln, who was born February 12, 1809, and was then between 16 and 17 years of age, had dealings with or knew some of these settlers. Certain it is that Lincoln acquired the habit of attending court at Boonville, then and now the county seat of Warrick county.[80]

The leaders of the Saundersville and Blue Grass locations (the latter about thirty miles west of Lincoln City), from the period of 1818 to 1830, when Lincoln, twenty-one years old, left Indiana, had a number of volumes of the classics of English poetry and prose, and enjoyed the music and culture of old English life. There are still living descendants of the English, old people, who learned their childhood speech from men and women born in England, more than one hundred years ago, from those who spoke the language of England in its purity, and who preserved in the wilderness its literature, music, culture and religion, and delivered them to their children and children's children. These old people, even yet in their childhood memories, treasure the nursery rhymes, humor and family traditions of England, the plaintive poetry of Tom Moore, Thomas Campbell and others, commemorating the martyrs of the Irish Rebellion and deploring the loss of Irish liberty, set to a sad music, as well as the martial strains of Scott and Burns.[81] These conditions mentioned in

[79] Fortune, *Warrick County Prominent People,* 36.

[80] J. Ed. Murr, History of Lincoln, *Indiana Magazine of History,* June 1818—150-154-159-160; Lamon's *Life of Lincoln,* 67.

[81] *King Alcohol Dethroned,* by Rev. F. C. Iglehart, D. D., 71. This author, who refers to these memories, is a representative of three of the pioneer families

the British settlement were probably nearer to the Lincoln location than any similar opportunity in the wilderness. Lincoln's nature craved books. He traveled on foot long distances to get them. He was a frequent visitor of the Breckenridge home near Boonville to read and borrow law books.[82]

The Evansville *Weekly Gazette* was published at Evansville from 1821 to 1825, inclusive, and it published legal and other court notices for Spencer, Warrick and all adjoining counties. It was the only newspaper in the section outside of Vincennes and New Harmony, and contained much news of public interest and matters local in the congressional district, which included Spencer county, where Lincoln lived at the age of 16 and over. Its election returns were gathered and published with noteworthy enterprise and embraced outside counties.

There were published in 1820 to 1830 weekly newspapers in Evansville,[83] New Harmony,[84] Vincennes,[85] and Corydon[86], the files of which are now accessible, perhaps for other periods, though complete files are not preserved. During all that period Spencer county was in the same congressional district with Evansville, Princeton and New Harmony, much of the time represented in congress by Ratliff Boone, who

in the first British settlement in Indiana, and was born in the eastern edge of it in 1845. His mother was born in Somersham, the town where Faux lived, and as a child five years old, came with her widowed mother to her uncle John Ingle of Saundersville. His father was born in Kentucky. Both his father's parents were Tidewater Marylanders. He was one of the native Hoosier ministers, not mentioned among the names elsewhere referred to as of an earlier period. But the same influences which created the first effective native ministry in southwestern Indiana under Parrett and Wheeler, undoubtedly reached him in his home life. He knew and heard preach both Parrett and Wheeler in their later life. He was chosen as a platform orator and temperance debater, from among the New York ministers, after a dramatic and successful answer to Mr. Jerome, attorney for the brewers and liquor dealers in a hearing before the Temperance Committee of the New York legislature in a large hall in Albany and for over ten years acted as superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of greater New York. Few, if any, have performed greater service in that cause. At the close of a long and successful career as minister, lecturer, writer and temperance leader, he published, under a prophetic title, at the opportune moment, the book referred to, which is authority upon the facts in the history of the liquor traffic.

[82] Murr's Lincoln, *Ind. Mag. Hist.*, June, 1918, p. 159.

[83] Evansville *Gazette* 1821 to 1825 inclusive.

[84] New Harmony *Gazette* 1825 to 1828; N. H. *Disseminator* 1828-1829; N. H. and Nashoba *Gazette* 1828-1831.

[85] *Western Sun & General Advertiser* 1819 to 1830 and later.

[86] *Indiana Sentinel and Advertiser* 1820-1821.

lived only about twenty miles from Lincoln. Boone was Lincoln's congressman the last two years the latter lived in Indiana as well as formerly. There was a direct public road from Princeton to New Harmony, one from Evansville to Boonville and from Evansville through Saundersville to Princeton and Vincennes, also to New Harmony, and one from Boonville through Saundersville to New Harmony. The latter town, as its newspapers show, was the center of literary culture of respectable character compared with the best culture of that age, anywhere. Very early a road ran from Corydon to Evansville, passing by Lincoln's farm through what is now known as Gentryville.[87]

Easy and frequent communication by river existed from all the points named (except Princeton and Corydon) to and from Troy, Rockport and Anderson creek, where the Lincolns are frequently found during this period. A stage line running on schedule time between Evansville, Princeton and Vincennes, making one trip a week, was established and first put in operation in the summer of 1824.[88] This continued till a railroad was put in operation nearly thirty years later.

Abraham Lincoln, once a year or oftener, went to Princeton to Col. James Evans for carding of wool. Evans' brother, Gen. Robert M. Evans, was for several years a tavern keeper and assistant postmaster at New Harmony in the year 1827 and later.[89] General Evans was an interesting character and figured much in the newspapers in Evansville, New Harmony and Vincennes, and it is altogether probable that his brother, the wool carder at Princeton, had the newspapers of the day, for so eager an inquirer for "news" and a customer as Lincoln is shown during that period to have been.[90] Evans was enterprising enough to advertise his wool carding machine in the Evansville *Gazette*,[91] which, no doubt, circulated in the Lincoln neighborhood.

Corydon, from 1816 to 1825, the capital of the State, about

[87] Lamon's *Lincoln*, 24.

[88] Evansville *Gazette*, July 14, 1824. Full details of this interesting event are advertised.

[89] New Harmony *Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1827.

[90] Murr's "History of Lincoln," *Indiana Magazine of History*.

[91] Evansville *Gazette*, June 20, 1823.

fifty-five miles distant from the lincoln farm, was near the center of the large family of Lincoln uncles and cousins.[92] The few details preserved of Lincoln's early life, up to manhood, and his character as the world later knew him, show him to have been too aggressive and earnest in search for knowledge of the outside world to have been ignorant of all of these sources of information, which for that age were fairly easy of access to him, without doubt. Many of the interesting facts of his life in Indiana have been wholly lost to history. That no record is preserved of his knowledge obtained from any of these sources may be accounted for in the death of the people of that time, capable of appreciating its importance, before Lincoln became famous, or that the facts involved may have escaped inquiry later, or that many of the illiterate of his neighbors may not have known or remembered such facts.

It is easier to believe this than that Abraham Lincoln remained ignorant of all these avenues of information till after he was 21 years old. Miss Robey, to whom Lincoln paid special attention as a young woman, who later married Allen Gentry, said of Lincoln: "He was better read than the world knows or is likely to know exactly."[93] At 19, Lincoln read every book he could find.[94] Tarbell gives the usual short list of books which the scant information of his life in Indiana furnishes, and says: "These are the chief ones we know about.* * * beside these he borrowed many other books. * * * He once told a friend that he read through every book he had ever heard of in that country, for a circuit of fifty miles."[95] John T. Richards, president of the Chicago Bar Association, reviews the scant evidence on this subject from a lawyer's standpoint, and says that it is unfortunate that beyond a general statement that while a youth in Indiana, Lincoln read the *Bible, Shakespeare, Pilgrim's Progress* and Weems' *Life of Washington* and such other books as he could borrow, there is no evidence available as to the

[92] Murr's "History of Lincoln," *Ind. Mag. of History*, Dec. 1917, p. 307.
[93] Ward H. Lamon, *Life of Lincoln* 70, *Herndon*, Vol. I, 39.
[94] Nicolay & Hay, V. I, p. 42.
[95] *Life of Lincoln*, V. I, p. 29.

books which aided in the development of his mind up to the time when he removed to Illinois; and in referring to Lincoln as an educated man, says that his early speeches and writings show a marked familiarity with history and knowledge of the English language.[96] Arnold says Lincoln read Burns' poems and other books till he was familiar with them.[97] One of the children of the first generation born in the English settlement speaks of Burns' *Poems* as among his childhood memories, heirlooms from English homelife, "the voice of Burns across the sea."[98]

## THE SPIRIT OF THE OHIO VALLEY

Our national history has for the most part been written by New England men, but from a sectional viewpoint, which over-estimated Puritan influence in the development of national character.[99] When we sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee" the country that is visualized is very small. The author of the hymn was a New England clergyman and naturally enough described New England and called it America. It is a land of rocks and rills and woods, and the hills are templed in Puritan fashion by white meeting houses; for the early New Englander, like erring Israel of old, loved to worship on the high places. Over it all is one great tradition: "It is the land of the Pilgrim's pride."[100]

The American spirit—the traits that have come to be recognized as the most characteristic—was developed in the new commonwealths that sprang into life beyond the seaboard.[101]

[96] *Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer and Statesman,* P. 1-3.

[97] *Life of Lincoln* 21.

[98] See note 81. An editorial obituary notice of the Evansville *Courier* July 28, 1882, of the death of Mrs. Ann Cowle Iglehart, wife of Asa Iglehart, granddaughter of John Ingle of Somersham, says: "The family of which Mrs. Iglehart came were not lacking in literary taste, and in that early day, when a book was unknown to most of the homes of that neighborhood, the family of Mark Wheeler, her stepfather, was supplied with a library. The children of the family, contrary to the other families of that time, spent their long winter evenings reading standard English works."

[99] Woodrow Wilson, *The course of American History* (mere literautre), 218.

[100] Samuel McChord Crothers, *The Pardoners Wallet—The land of the large and charitable air,* 148. This brilliant writer has actually found a true American instinct in old Mirandy Means, who, he says, "formulated the wisdom of the pioneer" who pre-empted more land than he could cultivate, *Id.* 171.

[101] Frederick Turner, *Rise of the New West* (1820-1830), 68.

The Atlantic frontier had to work upon European germs. Moving westward each new frontier was more and more American at the start; and soon the older communities were reacted upon wholesomely by the simplicity and democracy of the west. These considerations give the key to the meaning of the west in American history.[102] Says Frederick G.

[102] William Mason West, *History of the American People*, 270.

Turner:

> American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, this contnuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. * * * The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization.

The west at bottom is a form of society rather than area. The problem of the west is nothing less than the problem of American development. Today the old Northwest is the keystone to the American commonwealth.[103]

Mr. West states that Dr. Turner is the first true interpreter of the frontier in our history.[104] This author (Turner), with the advantage of the most complete collection of materials upon the west which has ever been brought together—The Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society[105], has in his recent writings given to the people of the States of the central west, embracing the location and period we are here considering, their ancestry, emigration and the establishment by them of the true non-sectional American Democracy, a dignity and importance never recognized before.[106]

Mr. Murr's History, in the fullest detail, discusses the frontier life of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, from the age of 7 to 21, from 1816 to 1830, during which period he lived in

[103] Turner, *Atlantic Monthly*, V. 78, p. 289, V. 79, p. 433.

[104] West, *History of the American People*, 270—note.

[105] Albert Bushnell Hart, Editorial Preface to Turner's *Rise of the New West*.

[106] Frederick G. Turner. "The Significance of the Frontier," in *American History Report* 1893, American Historical Association 199. "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 91, p. 83. "The Middle West," *International Monthly*, IV, 794. "Problem of the West," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 78, p. 289. "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic* 79, 438. *Rise of the New West* (The American Nation History), edited A. B. Hart.

Indiana, and justly claims that his character was moulded and developed by his Hoosier surroundings. He claims that the boy was father to the man. In an address to an Indiana regiment of Civil war soldiers, President Lincoln said: "I was born in Kentucky, raised in Indiana, and now live in Illinois."

Edward Eggleston, in his biography elsewhere mentioned, gives the greatest importance to the "formative influences" of his youth while living in Southern Indiana, on his career as an author, in which he says he was only drawing on the resources which the very peculiar circumstances of his life had put at his disposal. He adds: "Is it Herder who says, my whole life is but the interpretation of the oracles of my childhood?"[107]

The Lincoln type, in figure, movement, features, facial make-up, simplicity of speech and thought, gravity of countenance, and integrity and truthfulness of life, as it stands accredited by the vast number of writers on Lincoln, is in a substantial degree a Hoosier type in southern Indiana today. It may be still found in the judge on the bench, the lawyer at the bar, the preacher in the pulpit, and others descended from pioneer stock who are forceful and intelligent leaders of the common people.[108] It should be remembered that previous to 1830 the population of the farmer pioneers of southern Indiana who did not come from Kentucky and the south, were the exceptions. Turner correctly says that it is the southern element today which differentiates Indiana from Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, her sister states of the old Northwest. The central west, like the southwest, took its early impress from the central Atlantic coast States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Until the invention of the cotton gin, when cotton plantations made slave

[107] *Forum,* X, 290.

[108] An old Civil war soldier living in Illinois knew Lincoln as a surveyor in Illinois and heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport. After hearing Rev. J. E. Murr deliver an address on Lincoln, he came to him and said: "I hope you won't mind my saying that you, of all men I ever met, remind me most of Lincoln at 35 to 40. Your stature is not as great but your face, manner and speech and the little ways you have carry me back to Lincoln." Mr. Murr was born in Corydon, of Kentucky parentage, and is now pastor of Bayard Park M. E. Church, a prominent church in Evansville.

labor very profitable, the west, lying north of the Ohio river, and southwest were much alike,[109] and the resemblance and sympathy between the people of those sections are strong today.

It was only after the institution of slavery settled firmly and generally upon the south that the people of the country north of the Ohio river became distinctly separate. Lincoln came to Indiana in 1816, the year of its admission as a State, with a provision in its constitution against slavery. No one can doubt the influence upon Lincoln, the child and young man, in his life upon the free soil of Indiana. Eggleston gives strong testimony on this point in his biographical sketch[110] when he describes slavery in its mildest form among his father people's people in Virginia, and after a year's residence there at the age of 16, on his return to Indiana, he later says:

> From the time of my visit to Virginia I counted myself an Abolitionist.

The influence and necessities of slavery in the south required control of the press and in a degree the freedom of speech. Brander Mathews has shown, upon no less authority than Thomas Nelson Page and Prof. William P. Trent, in his biography of William Gilmore Sims, that this restraint was one of the chief causes which prevented the growth of a southern literature before the Civil war.[111] Free land and free institutions were the hope of the poor as well as more thrifty white people, which brought them across the Ohio river. After Kentucky had become well settled, land was more expensive and slavery had become a permanent institution.

It was destined that the Apostle of Freedom was to come of this class, and to be removed from the heavy weight with which slavery bore upon the poor whites. Out of the spirit of American democracy came the ideal now to direct the des-

[109] Albert Bushnell Hart, Editorial introduction to Turner's *Rise of the New West,* XIV, *Id.* p. 75-92, 45; F. G. Turner, "Dominant Forces in Western Life," *Atlantic,* 79, 438; "The Signicance of the Frontier in American History," *Am. Hist. Assn. R.* 1893, p. 220; Roosevelt, *Winning the West,* Ch. Men of the Western Waters.

[110] *Forum,* X, 288.

[111] Brander Mathews, *Aspects of Fiction—Two Studies of the South.*

tinies of the new British settlers and their Hoosier neighbors, one of whom was Abraham Lincoln. The general British emigration, of which the Illinois and Indiana colonies were part, began when Indiana became a State in 1816 with a constitution prohibiting slavery. It was no accident that in that year Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, with the boy Abraham, came from a slave State to the free soil and free institutions of Indiana and settled in the wilderness of southwestern Indiana. The ideals operating on Lincoln in his youth while he was a southern Indiana Hoosier at the time in the location we are considering, as compared with those then existing in slave territory, are thus stated by Turner:[112]

The natural democratic tendencies that had earlier shown themselves in the Gulf States were destroyed, however, by the spread of cotton culture and the development of great plantations in that region. What had been typical of the democracy of the Revolutionary frontier and of the frontier of Andrew Jackson was now to be seen in the States between the Ohio and the Mississippi. As Andrew Jackson is the typical democrat of the former region, so Abraham Lincoln is the very embodiment of the pioneer period of the old northwest. Indeed, he is the embodiment of the democracy of the west.

The pioneer life from which Lincoln came differed in important respects from the frontier democracy typified by Andrew Jackson. Jackson's democracy was contentious, individualistic, and it sought the ideal of local self-government and expansion. Lincoln represents rather the pioneer folk who entered the forest of the great northwest to chop out a home, to build up their fortunes in the midst of a continually ascending industrial movement. In the democracy of the southwest, industrial development and city life were only minor factors, but to the democracy of the northwest they were its very life. To widen the area of the clearing, to contend with one another for the mastery of the industrial resources of

[112] "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 89.

Descriptions of life in southern Indiana by many of the biographers of Lincoln, including Tarbell, I, p. 47, Nicolay & Hay, I, Ch. 2, are given as the background to the picture of a great character, of world-wide interest, and are too comprehensive and open too wide a field for the present inquiry; however, a field well worthy of study in connection with an inquiry into the character of the early farmer pioneers in the wilderness. John Hay was born at Salem, Ind., Oct. 8, 1838, less than a year after the birth of Edward Eggleston at Vevay, Dec. 10, 1837, not over 60 miles distant. None of these writers have interpreted the meaning of life in the old Northwest with the vision of Dr. Turner, whose works deal with the period during which Lincoln lived in southwestern Indiana, from 1816 to 1830, which covers the time as well as the territory embraced in the present inquiry.

the rich provinces, to struggle for a place in the ascending movement of society, to transmit to one's offspring the chance for education, for industrial betterment, for the rise in life which the hardships of the pioneer existence denied to the pioneer himself, these were some of the ideals of the region to which Lincoln came. The men were commonwealth builders, industry builders. Whereas the type of hero in the southwest was militant, in the northwest he was industrial. It was in the midst of these "plain people," as he loved to call them, that Lincoln grew to manhood. As Emerson says: "He is the true history of the American people in his time." The years of his early life were the years when the democracy of the northwest came into struggle with the institution of slavery that threatened to forbid the expansion of the democratic pioneer life in the west.

The ideal of the west was its emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, of its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature, under conditions of social mobility. Western democracy was no theorist's dream. It came stark and strong and full of life from the American forest.[113] The westerner has been the type and master of our national life.[114] The comparatively recent publication and reprint with notes by Dr. Thwaites of the writings of early western travelers in thirty-odd volumes are treated by Dr. Turner in a review[115] as a sign of the interest that is aroused in western history, and an indication that the region this side of the Allegheny mountains has reached the stage that comes to every people, when in the pride of achievement it turns to survey the records of its past.

The Hoosier has come into his own. He demands a fair interpretation of those records, and is proud of them. He has no patience with apologists at home, who have been misled by unfair interpretation, nor with the condescending criticisms of certain people of other States. No intelligent and fair-minded person will judge the character of a whole people in pioneer Indiana at the beginning of the State by the careless or malicious sketches of the lowest class of people correctly described by Dr. Turner as "the scum that the waves of advancing civilization bore before them."[116]

[113] Frederick G. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* 1819-1829, 86.

[114] Woodrow Wilson, *The Course of American History (mere literature),* 218.

[115] *The Dial,* XXXVII, 298.

[116] "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *American History Association R.,* 1893, 223 note.

## Pioneer Life

The severity of pioneer life, with its hard labor, the isolation of families, want of good roads in winter, the limited opportunity for gathering together of people at public entertainments and Sunday religious services, made social life and entertainment at a very early day, especially for women and children, very limited. In this respect the life of the settlers of the English settlement was much in common with the life of the native pioneers with whom they mingled. Visiting was common among young people and relatives. For a young man to call upon a young lady meant often for him to ride horseback five or ten miles, even farther. Saturday afternoons were generally recognized as a time for recreation. At the neighborhood store of evenings and particularly Saturday afternoons, the men, young and old, gathered in groups for sociability and to barter; money was scarce and most of the trade, and purchases as well, were exchanges of goods at market prices.

At these gatherings stories were told and jokes perpetrated. Rifle practice, testing the best skill of the hunter, was a popular entertainment. When men or boys went to the store or visiting, they usually carried a gun, on the probability of seeing a deer or other game or wild animal.

At corn shuckings and log rollings a general good time, with feasting, dancing and drinking, followed. If a neighbor was sick and unable to cut his firewood, or a widow had no one to do that work for her, neighbors would gather with their axes and cut a good pile of wood and carry or haul it to the house. Such an occasion was generally followed by a general social entertainment. The drinking habit, while abused here as elsewhere by persons who indulged to excess, was a very common one, and public opinion was tolerant of it. Faux expresses throughout his book the highest Christion sentiment, no doubt sincerely. He is merciless in his criticisms generally, and especially of the poor lodging accommodations for travelers at taverns and in private houses. He occasionally mentions in mitigation of the many faults that good whiskey or brandy was produced. Mr. Hornbrook

records the well-known fact that when on occasions the preacher arrived at the house to conduct religious services there, and was tired and needed a stimulant, he did not hesitate to set out the decanter of brandy, which was welcome. As a rule, people drank in moderation. The Erskines tried to raise a log cabin without free whiskey, but most reluctantly were compelled to yield the point. Whiskey was five cents a glass, and a glass full at the store was often divided up among a number of persons. Fifteen or twenty cents would buy a small jug full. Excitable or quarrelsome persons under the influence of whiskey sometimes engaged in brawls.

If a fight reached the danger point in the matter of public peace or example or safety, the grand jury frequently indicted one or both of the parties, who had to plead guilty or stand a jury trial in the circuit court. The record of these court trials, as well as of civil suits, where the names of the principals involved, as well as the names of by-standers and witnesses, are endorsed upon the indictment or found in the summons and subpoenas, has been one of the aids in refreshing the memories of the oldest inhabitants, particularly Edward Maidlow and James Erskine, who have assisted in restoring the faded pictures of these early times.

Negley's mill was a rendezvous for people of all classes from different neighborhoods, who came to mill. There stood a substantial frame steam saw mill and steam flour, corn and grist mill. Nearby the family lived, in a substantial and commodious farm house. The Negley mill, which had been established and owned by James Anthony (not Jonathan Anthony, as the historians record), was the best equipped mill of its kind in southwestern Indiana for many years, and changed hands when Negley bought it, about 1819, at a very considerable price. At the earliest date animal power, alone, in a log house, was used, and the mill supplied the country for many miles around. In a local history is given an interesting description of the old days at Negley's mill and the social life and entertainments there, which continued down for a generation. A trip to the mill was often an excuse for young people of both sexes to go to the business and social

center. The list of patrons from the records of the owners of the mill includes many names from the English settlement.[117]

In 1825 Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., wrote to a friend in England that they were compelled to manufacture their clothing, because of the scarcity of specie, the women sometimes carding the cotton and wool, then spinning, weaving and fashioning the cloth into garments. Little time was left for sociability, with the labors which the women had then to perform, and this was substantially the condition in all the families of the settlement.

In the Evansville *Gazette* of June 29, 1825, are two notices of local interest, showing the patriotic spirit of the people. One is a publication of a notice signed by a committee on arrangements, in Evansville, informing the public of a procession from the house of Daniel Chute on the Fourth of July, to march to the courthouse and hear the address of Dr. William P. Foster; after which the procession was to return to Mr. Chute's house, where a dinner was to be "prepared for those who were disposed to partake of it." Immediately following this notice, of the same date, is the following:

PUBLIC DINNER

A Public Dinner will be provided at the House of Samuel Scott in the English Settlement to celebrate with becoming spirit the gorious independence of America. We give this public notice as many of our neighbors complained last year they had not an opportunity of attending, for want of timely information. It will be conducted on the same principles as that of last year. Subscriptions will be received at Samuel Scott's. The dinner will be on the table at one o'clock.

R. Carlisle,
S. Scott,
J. Ingle,
C Potts,
J. Cawson,
S. Mansell.[118]

This scrap shows that the "English Settlement" was well known to the readers of the paper; that it aspired equally

[117] Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 93, 96.

[118] Evansville *Gazette*, June 18, 1825. Local news was so rare that the editor in such matters usually used his editorial column.

with the village of Evansville to recognize the Fourth of July with "becoming spirit"; and that Samuel Scott and Richard Carlisle, prominent men, who were on the ground before Hornbrook, the "Father of the Settlement," came, and who came from England by way of Virginia, were recognized as leaders in the settlement.

In 1822 Hornbrook, for social and mutual benefits, called the men of the neighborhood together to meet at his house every Saturday afternoon, when they had one or two papers on the subject of agriculture or any other topic of general interest, which were followed by discussion. He writes that "it was the intention to hold more general meetings the next year, for the county, to a greater extent." Of course, there was no benefit or sociability for the women in these meetings, but there had "come into the settlement a number of good respectable English families within three miles, which to some extent supplied that need."

Hornbrook had been a manufacturer and contractor and business man of considerable experience in the old country and as long as he lived, engaged in business and matters of general interest in trade and manufacture in the settlement.

Describing the situation of his family, which was much similar to those of John Ingle, and the Maidlows, near neighbors, as well as of the Wheelers, Joseph and Mark, the Erskines, Hillyards and others, six miles or farther distant eastwardly, Hornbrook, in 1822, writes:

> For the first few years in our new home my family being large (ten children), we did not feel the loneliness which smaller families experienced in this new country, where one could not see farther than a quarter of a mile, because of the dense woods in all directions. In a short time the older ones married and settled near us, building their cabins and clearing the land and extending our social needs.

He writes his old English friends:

> Our society here cannot be so select as with you, but we have as much sincerity and friendship, but there is no time for visiting or idle chitchat. Probably after a few years we may have some leisure, though there are no servants to relieve the women of labor, so no time for five o'clock tea with the ladies, as in Old England, but we have no taxes—no tithes—no excise laws—and perfect freedom of thought and worship.

The better element in the English settlement depended much on each other for their social life and for aid in sickness and need, though scattered throughout the country and in the new town of Evansville were a number of well-to-do people among the better class of natives from Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and other Atlantic coast States. Ten or twenty miles, even, did not prevent intimacy between congenial neighbors.

The Ingles, Maidlows, Hornbrooks, Wheelers, Erskines, Hillyards, McJohnsons, and others were the center of the circle of the settlement, and were the nucleus of a social community, drawing to it others more remote, representing in the generation then young, large families of men and women who spoke the English language in its purity and preserved the best traditions of the social, intellectual and moral life of England.

Faux says at the beginning there were no schools in the settlement, and recommends to the English teachers a good opportunity at a good salary for that time. The first advertisement in the Evansville *Gazette* of a teacher for pupils was by Andrew Erskine,[119] in which he stated his terms and the character of his school. He was an educated man, and a leading citizen in the county. A description of educational opportunities in the twenties and the resorts of ambitious people to overcome obstacles in that direction is later furnished by a member of one of the pioneer families, then a youth:[120]

> In that new country, where there were no books, and newspapers were very rare, opportunities for education were very poor indeed; but father and mother, especially the latter, were anxious for the promotion and education of their children. Stimulated by her precept, we all early acquired a taste for books. We subscribed for weekly papers very early, and supplied ourselves with what few school books could be obtained, and went to school, a few months each winter in the improvised rude cabins, which were called school-houses in those rude days. But, in fact, our education was obtained more at home, from the scanty supply of books we had, and from our application, and by stimulating each other. One of the sources of

[119] Evansville *Gazette, March* 11, 1823.

[120] *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 355.

education and stimulation was the early Methodist preachers, who found their way as well to the wild woods of Warrick county, as everywhere in this country which has been reached by civilization. They were generally better educated than most of the people in the country then were, and they stimulated us to seek for better educational opportunities; and though none of us ever went to college we obtained all the education which was attainable in those early days without going to college.

Gradually schools were established, but the terms were short; sometimes, not always, competent teachers were found; among the leaders of the English settlement, in the families of which were some older children who had received some education in England, and where the parents were educated people, there was a good supply of English books and especial care was taken to furnish the best substitute in the home for schools before they became effective elsewhere.

As there had been no church built in this settlement, various leading settlers, including Hornbrook, Ingle, Erskine, the Hillyards, and others, would invite a minister whom any of them could get, to come to his house to hold services on Sunday. If he could not get anyone to come, as they were, other than the Wheelers, Joseph and Richard, and Parrett, few and far between, he would himself read a sermon from some English book of sermons, and the reading was followed by prayer and song service. There were at that early period eight or ten Unitarian families in the neighborhood, who were sometimes called Schismatics or Christians.

True to frontier life west of the mountains as it existed at the time of which we write, especially religious influences and development in this section, is the account of Peter Cartwright,[121] a Methodist preacher of national reputation, in later life. He was a striking character. He was without education, but gifted with natural power of oratory, of undoubted sincerity and piety, with qualities of leadership, including the element of fearless courage, which a leader of the time required. Humorous incidents are told of his policing his public religious meetings in Kentucky to prevent rowdies from breaking them up. He had personally, as a member of

[121] *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright.*

the Green River district of the Tennessee conference, established the St. Vincennes circuit in 1808.[122] This circuit included southwestern Indiana.

Rev. John Schrader, the circuit rider, as early as 1815[123] traveled that circuit, embracing the entire Patoka river valley south of the present line of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, and extending from the Wabash river eastwardly to and perhaps including Harrison county.

Rev. Joseph Wheeler and Robert Parrett knew Cartwright well. In their training and education in England they were free from the narrow limitations which the spirit of the age in the frontier west then imposed upon the natives, and upon many of the leaders born and reared among them. It seems now almost like fiction to read the serious lament of Peter Cartwright,[124] when in his old age, a unique and celebrated character, with a long and successful career behind him, he criticises an educated ministry, literary institutions and theological institutes. He says:

> The Presbyterians and other Calvanistic branches of the Protestant church used to contend for an educated ministry, for pews, for instrumental music, for a congregational or stated salaried ministry; the illiterate Methodist preachers actually set the world on fire (the American world at least), while they were lighting their matches.

He condemns the Wesleyans in England for the same reasons, insisting that such practices were a departure from the teachings of John Wesley.

Parrett and the Wheelers, who were Wesleyans in England, had none of this spirit. Neither had the leaders of the settlement any of the narrow or bigoted or rowdy spirit which to some extent prevailed in various quarters among the natives of this section.

For half a century in southern Indiana many of the pioneer preachers struggled in a tragic and losing fight against the spirit of the age, which has at last succeeded in that denomination, in its demand for an educated ministry.[125]

[122] *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright* (1856), 131, 141-167.

[123] *History of Warrick County* (1885), p. 124.

[124] *Biography of Peter Cartwright*, p. 79.

[125] For an illustration of that fight, upon the entrance into the Indiana Conference of the M. E. Church, of the first graduate of the first Methodist college of

A thrilling flight of natural oratory was heard by the writer in an address by Hayden Hays, an old, white-haired, superannuated preacher on the floor of the Indiana conference nearly fifty years ago, discussing the transfers of ministers from other conferences into the best pulpits of the conference, thus to some extent shutting out of those pulpits the old leaders who had heroically spent their lives in building up the civilization of the State.

It was by the Rev. John Schrader, the circuit rider, that the first regular, organized religious public services, of which local history has any record, were held, in what is now known as Vanderburgh county, in Hugh McGary's double log warehouse. By him, in 1819, arrangement was made at that meeting with the Wheelers and Parrett, Methodist ministers, who resided in the settlement, to preach regularly, in his absence, in Evansville.[126]

John Ingle, of Saundersville, though not a minister, like Hornbrook, led services in his own house, and Faux records his reading a sermon and leading in prayer at service on Sunday, attended by sixteen people.[127] Also the Wheelers, Erskines, Hillyards, Iglehearts, and others did the same. The following extract is taken from the minutes of the church board of Hillyard Methodist Episcopal church:

> In the early part of the nineteenth century, when the surrounding country was being opened up and settled by pioneer settlers from the mother country and the east, came the desire to have some place to worship God, according to their religious belief. So it was agreed by these early pioneers to hold their meetings at the home of old Father Charles McJohnson, whenever a preacher might be passing through the country. The first who preached there was Joseph Tarkington,[128] who used the text, "They shall go in and out and find pasture." These meetings were held here occasionally until the spring of 1824.
>
> With the spring of 1824 came the organization of the so-called Blue Grass society at the home of Mark Wheeler, who was for a time class

the State, see introduction to the *Autobiography of Rev. Joseph Tarkington* by Rev. Thomas A. Goodwin, D. D. While in form an introduction, it is in substance an autobiography of Dr. Goodwin, supplementing that of Mr. Tarkington, with most interesting and amusing descriptions of pioneer times and people in southern Indiana.

[126] *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 278.

[127] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 239, 285.

[128] See note 60.

leader and at whose home the meetings of the class and preaching services were held. At this time the territory was in the Illinois conference, Wabash district, Patoka circuit. This circuit had thirty-two appointments and was served by two preachers living at Princeton. Each made a round every four weeks. The class meetings in those days were held invariably after preaching services.

In 1827, three years after the organization, the meeting place of the society was transferred to the home of William Hillyard, Sr., and continued at this place until the year 1834, when the society built a hewed log house 20 x 24 feet and covered it with clapboards. The first seats were round poles, after a time these were replaced with improved seats made by splitting small logs in the center, shaving off the splinters with a drawing knife, boring holes in the bark side, inserting sharpened pieces of timbers into these holes. These seats were known as benches. This church had five windows, two on each side, and one behind the pulpit. This building stood on a rise of ground near the cemetery. The society continued to worship in this rude structure until 1851, when the second house, which is still used, was built on ground one-half mile south of the cemetery.

The first class leader was Mark Wheeler. There were eighteen persons belonging to this class. Other class leaders, who had done estimable service, were Joseph Harrison, Alexander Hillyard, Sr., William Crisp, Henry Harrison and Thomas Hillyard.

From the best information that can be gained, the first Sunday School was organized in 1838 in the old log church. There were twenty members belonging to this school. Alexander Hillyard, Sr., was the first superintendent. The Sunday School in those days memorized a great amount of Scripture.

The McJohnson Methodist Episcopal chapel was located at McCutchanville, about three miles south of Hillyard church, at an early date, and these two churches have for many years sustained a stationed minister in a church parsonage located at McCutchanville. A Methodist church was erected near Saundersville at a point where the church cemetery now known as the Ingle cemetery is located, but the church building was later removed.

The Episcopalians had a church in the settlement, and as late as 1850 one was known as Faux's chapel. Whether named in honor of William Faux, the early historian of the settlement, or one of his descendants, history does not state. It has disappeared.

There were among the various settlers representatives of many religious denominations. The Established church of England had a good representation. Whatever the former

religious affiliations of the settlers had been in the old country, Wesleyanism, through the Hillyards, McJohnsons, Wheelers, Parretts, Erskines, and other members of the settlement, as well as the circuit rider, who passed through the settlement at stated periods, firmly established Methodism in the beginning of Vanderburgh county's existence. For years that church very largely pre-empted the soil and the people with it, in the north half of the county. The burial ground at McCutchanville church, one at Hillyard church, one near Saundersville, now known as the Ingle cemetery, the Episcopal cemetery, and the Camp Ground cemetery, established later than the others, ranked in the above order, first of the earliest cemeteries in the county in the number of graves of the pioneers of the first decade of the settlement of the county.

Among the incidents preserved which show the close touch of some of the immigrants with John Wesley during his ministry in England and Ireland are the following: Elizabeth Wheeler (1781-1870), wife of Rev. Joseph Wheeler, was born at Witney, Oxfordshire, England, daughter of John and Elizabeth Early, of Witney. John Wesley was a regular visitor at her mother's home in Witney. When but a small child, she sat on Mr. Wesley's knee and recited one of the longest psalms. Elizabeth Hillyard (1760-1845), widow of John Hillyard, of Longford, Ireland, was left by her husband at his death a retail store in Longford, which she continued for some years. When the youngest of her four sons, James, William, John and Alexander, was about grown, she came in 1818 with them to America and this was the original Hillyard family of the Blue Grass neighborhood. Her husband, John Hillyard, was one of the first Wesleyan class leaders in Longford. Both she and her husband knew John Wesley. On one occasion as a girl she wore to church a bow of bright ribbon on her bonnet, and Mr. Wesley remarked, "It is a bow upon Bessie?" This was understood by all to be a reproof to the young lady for undue gaiety in dress.

Reference is elsewhere made to Rev. Joseph Wheeler and Rev. Robert Parrett, two men cast in the same mold, whose influence for good in the new settlement and for a much wider territory, was very great. Their influence upon the young

men of the settlement was very marked. To their influence, especially the former, in a great degree may be traced the education of a number of young men in the families mentioned, to the ministry. Among these native ministers were James and William Ingle, sons, and John Cowle, nephew, of John Ingle, of Saundersville, and William and Henry Wheeler, sons of Mark Wheeler; James, son of John Hillyard, and Thomas Walker and John Harrison. John W. Parrett, eldest son of Rev. Robert Parrett, was an active minister. All of these were Methodists except Thomas Walker, who was resident pastor of the Cumberland Presbyterian church at Owensville, Indiana, for a generation. So that before these older ministers had passed their vigor, there arose among these families a native ministry, the earliest in that section. Some of them remained in the settlement, rendering good service to the community in furnishing public service at a time when it was much needed. Some of them dedicated their lives wholly to the ministry and passed out into the wider world. None of them are now living.

## Economic Conditions

One of the criticisms made against emigration to this immediate section was that the country was wet, undrained, malarial and subject to fevers. The picture by Faux of Evansville, at the time he visited it in November, 1819, is an unfavorable one. On that subject he says:[129]

> Visited Evansville on the bluffs of the Ohio. Behind it is an almost impassable road through a sickly swamp, none of which near the road is yet cultivated. It seems too wet. Here I met a few English mechanics regretting they had left England, where they think they could do better.

The Evansville *Gazette*[130] contains an editorial statement on the subject of the health of Evansville, to the effect that it was "tolerably healthful." Between the lines may be seen that the writer felt that there had perhaps been some foundation at least, at some time, for the charge of unhealthy location.

[129] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, I, 292.
[130] Issue of Sept. 9, 1824.

At the time of the discovery of the "Salt Wells," on Pigeon creek near Evansville, the *Gazette* issued an editorial prospectus of the town, claiming almost perfect health in it.[131]

But Evansville itself, located about half a mile east of the mouth of Pigeon creek, lay on very high ground, and above the highest water, even up to the present time; but on all three sides away from the river, the ground retreated until it was low, and at the time mentioned, it was entirely undrained. The same may be said of what is now Knight township on the east, as well as Union and Perry townships on the west and south. These lowlands, which have since become drained and are healthy for residence probably as much as the higher ground, were at the time standing in water much of the year.

Naturally the most inviting location for a settler, health considered, was the high ground beginning on what was afterwards the state road, which started in Evansville, extended northwardly across Pigeon creek near Anthony or Negley's mill, to Princeton and Vincennes. Fron Pigeon creek, near the present northern boundary of Evansville, north for the whole distance to the north line of the settlement, the ground was well drained and rolling, and the view was picturesque, especially the backbone of hills occupied by Mechanicsville (Stringtown), near the southern line of the settlement. This was at the beginning occupied by early settlers, some of English birth, including the Walkers, some of English ancestry, all with English sympathies, which united them in many ways with members of the settlement itself.

The tracts selected by the Hornbrooks, Maidlows and Ingle were located close together, and a great majority of the fifty-six families mentioned by Faux in his book written in November, 1819, were located so closely to the land so selected that the settlement was very compact. There were, however, at the same time and immediately afterwards other settlers properly included within the colony who settled over

[131] Evansville *Gazette*, Aug. 27, 1823.

the line in Gibson county on the north, Posey on the west, and Warrick on the east, all, however, within a radius of ten or fifteen miles, most of it much nearer.

In August, 1819, three months before Faux's visit to John Ingle, Richard Flower wrote a letter[132] from the Illinois settlement, giving some definite idea of its extent and numbers, in which he says:

> On a tract of land from the Little Wabash to the Bonpas on the Great Wabash, about seventeen miles in width, and four to six from north to south, there were but a few hunters' cabins, a year and a half since, and now there are about sixty English families, containing nearly four hundred souls; and one hundred and fifty American, containing about seven hundred souls, who like the English for their neighbors, and many of whom are good neighbours to us.

The central part of the English and Irish location, some six miles east of Saundersville, included the Wheelers, Hillyards, Erskines and McJohnsons, who settled there early. The Hillyards and McJohnsons were there before Faux arrived. The Erskines arrived at Evansville by an ark Christmas day, 1819, just as Faux was preparing to leave the country. Faux did not meet any of these persons, and his observations are confined substantially to those persons whom he met in the immediate neighborhood of John Ingle's residence, and in Evansville, where he visited a short time. He speaks, however, of the people in the settlement as the "British,"[133] thus recognizing what was the fact, that the settlement properly embraced not only the English, but the Irish and a few Scotch, who came about the same time, and were for all practical purposes one with the English.

The soil upon which the central settlement was made was not of the best. In fact, the timber upon it would have indicated that fact to a farmer familiar with judging soil covered with timber. This criticism was made by Judge McCreary, associate judge of the circuit court, to Mr. Faux, who quotes him in a talk he had with Hornbrook himself, which, the judge said, Hornbrook did not relish.

The location of the Indiana settlement, with Saundersville

[132] Sparks, *English Settlement in the Illinois,* letter 2, p. 24.
[133] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 295.

as its center, shows that the great body of the settlement occupied less space than that given by Richard Flower for the Illinois settlement. The great body of the settlers were in a circle of not over one-half the radius of the larger circle described. Its borders were extended so as to include the Parrett location across the county line in Posey county on the west, and the extension into Campbell township, Warrick county on the east, and to Warrenton, in Gibson county, on the north, and to include Mechanicsville on the south as far as Negley's mill, at the foot of the hill and ridge on which Mechanicsville is located and where the extreme southern boundary of the settlement terminated. Here the Walkers and others lived.

The Kentucky backwoodsmen were inclined by preference to select the lower lands in what is now Knight township and Union township, which at the present time are the finest agricultural lands in the county. The same preference was given by the same class of farmers to the lands in Gibson county and Posey county, much of which is the finest agricultural soil in this section, and one of the finest agricultural sections in the central west.

Cobbett[134] describes the land of the New Harmony settlement in Posey county as being as rich as a dung hill. One exception to the other Englishmen in selecting the location for the settlement was Robert Parrett, who came about the same time as the other leaders mentioned, but who stopped a year or two in New Jersey before coming to Indiana. He settled at or near what is now Blairsville, in Posey county, in 1819, and about ten miles distant from Saundersville, where the soil was of a superior character. Here he remained some five or six years and here some of his children, including the late William F. Parrett, circuit judge and member of congress, were born. In 1825 he moved with his family to his location of the Parrett homestead, embracing a hundred and sixty acres of land, then adjoining Evansville on the south and southeast, which is now a solidly built up portion of the city, including one of the finest residence streets. Much of this he

[134] Lindly, *Indiana as seen by Early Travelers,* 514.

retained till his death, leaving to his children a large estate, in the land alone.

The English settlement had no definite limits, but extended as its settlers moved around, and from the beginning its members drifted towards Evansville, along the high and rolling ground in the general neighborhood of the state road, located previous to 1819.

When the state road in Vanderburgh county was improved, the stations, of two miles in length each, embraced in separate descriptions for clearing timber and road building, were identified in their termini by stakes in the fields of the English settlers from Pigeon creek to the Gibson county line.[135]

The road back of Evansville to Pigeon creek was, in 1819, when Faux described it, low and swampy, or at least undrained of standing water, and much of the land through which it ran was untenable for healthy residence. So, indeed, was much of the best land in the county. The description by early travelers, including Fearon, Faux, and others, lays great stress upon the matter of health and the neighborhood of extensive undrained lands, which properly disqualified it for residence of men and their families, who were entering a new life of supreme hardships. In this fact, greater than any other, may be found the explanation why the Hornbrooks, Ingle, Maidlows, Scott, Kennerly, Hillyards, Wheelers, Erskines and later comers, settled land not of the best soil. It compares unfavorably with the land lying lower, especially now when all of it is drained and in cultivation.

Faux visited Evansville for a day in November, 1819, meeting several of the prominent citizens who called upon him. As already mentioned, he says Judge McCreary complained greatly of the choice of land made by the British here. He wonders they could not better inform themselves, because when they came there was plenty of good land to be had and if not in bodies, yet in sections and in half sections. "The soil," he said, "is as thin as a clap-board or bear-skin. I would not give one of my quarter sections for all of the neigh-

[135] Evansville *Gazette*, July 13, 1822, Advt. for proposals.

borhood of the barrens." (The term "barrens," as then used, did not apply to arid soil, but rather to land which was not covered by tall timber.) "They must have been deceived by speculators, but all the English must herd together."[136]

In this Judge McCreary was wrong. As stated, the original location was made in this section by Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., who came into the wilderness alone, and made his selection, probably without much knowledge of the nature of the soil, as he had not been a farmer in the old country.

It is true that Samuel Scott lived in this neighborhood before Hornbrook came. At Scott's house were held all the elections in that township, during his life, and they continued to be held there at the house of his widow, after his death, about 1825 or 1826.

Carlisle and Kennerly were on the ground, Kennerly at the north end of Mechanicsville, Carlisle farther north, toward the settlement, as afterwards located, and while he does not refer to the fact, it is not unlikely that Saunders Hornbrook, Jr., was influenced in some degree by these men, who were rugged, intelligent Englishmen, and as stated elsewhere, afterwards became part of the settlement.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Saundersville settlement was not located in the most fertile section, and that health of the location had much to do with its selection, a hundred years of cultivation and good farming have made the original location of the English settlement a location of good farms at the present time.

The first high ground north of Evansville on the line of travel to Princeton and Vincennes begins across Pigeon creek; here it rises abruptly so high and steep that the road from Pigeon creek near Negley's mill up to Mechanicsville at the top of the hill was over one-half mile long and so steep the entire distance that in the old time of dirt roads, it was an object of much solicitude to travelers. Northwardly extends the backbone of the ridge, furnishing a beautiful view of the hills and valleys for many miles, and on this ridge was located Mechanicsville, over a mile in length. Along this high

[136] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 295.

ground the state road, after it was located, was changed to go through the Saundersville settlement, forking at the north end of Mechanicsville easterly in the Petersburg road. This road went through the McCutchanville, Earles, Hillyard church and the Wheeler settlements, where, as in the case of the state road, the English and Irish settlers had blazed the way.

From the beginning, contemporaneously with the settlement of Evansville on the one side, and the Saundersville, McCutchanville and Hillyard settlements on the other, on account of its superior location for health, its proximity to the perennial Pigeon creek, and its nearness to the Ohio river, and itself lying on the direct road to Princeton and Vincennes from the river, Mechanicsville was an important center of activity and population. It was, so to speak, a connecting link between Evansville and the English settlement.

Here was one of the first meeting-houses for religious and educational uses built in the county (1832). It is still standing and in use, as the village church, in excellent condition, though eighty-seven years old, and now the oldest church building in the county.

At the south end and part of Mechanicsville, opposite Negley's mill, was a small village which has wholly disappeared.[137]

Mechanicsville was a competitor with Evansville for the county seat of Vanderburgh county in 1818. It is stated that in the 30's, the citizens of Evansville had to go to Mechanicsville for first class blacksmithing and wagon-making. Here, in the early 30's, John Ingle, Jr., learned his trade as a cabinet-maker. Here later settled Dr. Lindley, one of the leading men of the county, also the Whittlesey family, long prominent citizens of the county, as well as of the city of Evansville; still later the McGhees, Olmsteads, Woods and others. Mechanicsville has always been and still is a well-settled community, and today is thickly settled with well-built houses, and in addition, on account of its superb location, has become a popular place of suburban residences of Evansville people.

[137] Elliott, *History of Vanderburgh County*, 94.

The subject of water was then of great importance to a settler seeking a farm location. A running stream upon the land was regarded as of great value. The elder Hornbrook calls attention to this advantage of the location of the settlement, in one of his letters. Faux's description of the difficulty of some of the farmers in getting water for their families and stock is both amusing and tragic.[138] George Flower's history of the Prairie settlement in Illinois, mentions the fact of the difficulty of procuring water at one time, when representatives of much of the village stood in line with buckets for two hours at night, being supplied from a well which he had dug.[139]

The extreme eastern line of the settlement was from Pigeon creek, a point selected by the elder Igleheart and others including the Lockyears as a water supply. This creek runs north through Campbell township in Warrick county, some fifteen miles east of Saundersville; so that he was on the eastern edge of the settlement around which, however, a dozen English families, including the Lockyears, then and later settled. All of his three sons, and two of his four daughters married members of the British settlement. Christopher Lockyear, a brother-in-law of the senior Maidlow, came over with him in 1818. In 1918, at a reunion of his descendants in Evansville, one hundred of them were present.

Pigeon creek, as the source of unfailing water supply, was at the beginning regarded as one of great importance. Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., in the letter referred to, speaks of the landing of his son at Pigeon creek, rather than at Evansville. A number of the travelers, in referring to the location, give importance to the existence of Pigeon creek as a well-known stream of water. As late as 1835 it is said the most serious inconvenience that people of Evansville suffered was the want of good water, and that the Ohio river water was all that could be obtained till that time. The first cistern was then built by Ira French, who had bought the *patent right to build cisterns* in Vanderburgh county.[140]

[138] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 266.
[139] George F. Flower, *History of Edwards County, Ill.,* 131.
[140] Riley, *History of Walnut Street Church, Evansville,* 26.

An examination of the records of the county commissioners of Vanderburgh county, which had jurisdiction in the establishment, maintenance and repair of roads, shows very clearly that there was universal interest among the first settlers in the establishment of roads in this part of the wilderness. Roads, when established, were for a long period not much more than blazed trails, and the best that could be done in the way of laying out and improving a road was cutting off the heavy timber, which usually left stumps around which the road was compelled to run. So long as the adjoining forest was uncleared, good drainage was impossible, and it was many years before good wagon or carriage roads were established.

The cost of hauling was so great as to be prohibitive of transportation of heavy material. Faux says that fifty cents was the usual price of carriage for one hundred pounds of corn for over twenty miles, sometimes higher, never lower. One bushel of corn weighed from fifty to fifty-six pounds, so that if it was hauled by weight, it would not pay the carriage for twenty miles. He says that Ferrel, a man of experience and discernment, stated that he would not fetch corn from Princeton, twenty miles off, as a gift, if he could grow it, nor would he carry it to the Ohio for sale, because it would not pay carriage and expenses. When, if ever, they will have surplus produce, he will give it to the pigs and cattle, which will walk to market.[141] Again he says:

> Yesterday a settler passed our door (Ingle's) with a bushel of corn-meal on his back, for which he had traveled twenty miles on foot to the nearest horse-mill, and carried it ten miles, paying seventy-five cents for it.

Almost the first acts of organized government of Vanderburgh county were the receiving of petitions for the opening of public roads, appointing viewers to pass upon the question of public utility, and to investigate and lay them out, and making orders establishing roads. After a road was established in the country districts, the question of its maintenance became important; a road supervisor was appointed and assigned to a specified portion or length of road. Some-

[141] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 291.

times one road in the county, of length, would be embraced within the jurisdiction of several supervisors. To the supervisor was assigned the inhabitants sometimes by name, sometimes by a general description of locality, living within the territory of his district, near the particular highway which they, by law, were required to work. It was the duty of the supervisor to call upon all the able-bodied inhabitants to work the roads, and, in case of their failure to do so, to collect from them sufficient cash to hire a substitute.

So great was the interest of everyone in the proper maintenance of these highways of travel, that the leading citizens of the county, without exception, were willing to accept the appointment of road supervisor. This was true of all of the leading men named. This was in some respects the most important public position and nearest to the real interests of the community, although the pay was trifling. The proportion of county business embraced within this routine of work was so great for the first ten years as to indicate that it was of the greatest importance to the people and to the county commissioners, who had charge of it. There is no more reliable record of the names of citizens in particular localities, at a particular time, than is to be found in the enumeration of inhabitants for working roads in the particular road districts.

More voluminous, however, were the "Estray notices." The stock law was severe to protect stock from thieves. When a settler took up a horse, cow or hog, the law required him to go before the nearest justice with two neighbors and make an appraisement and give notice before the justice, who transmitted the paper, usually a single small sheet, to the clerk's office.

In preparing the list of English families in this settlement at fixed dates, this mass of contemporary record, each paper containing four names, with the date and the township located, enabled the writer, with his own knowledge and the aid of James Maidlow and James Erskine, to make out, with other aids, a substantially correct record.

The relative importance of the English settlement to other parts of the county during its first decade may in some measure be estimated by the amount of time and records devoted

by the county commissioners to the roads of that portion of the county, as compared to other portions. Upon such a comparison it appears that the northern part of the county, in which this settlement was located, was much farther advanced in the opening, existence and improvements of highways than the other parts of the county. That part of the county was more thickly settled than was the southern part. Saundersville was located in a central part of the settlement. It is described as "a flourishing post town in Vanderburgh county in 1826.[142] In 1833 the same authority described it as "a small post village in Vanderburgh county ten miles north of Evansville." Soon afterwards it ceased to exist. It had, in the early twenties, among other interests, several stores, a mill, a warehouse and a number of houses occupied as residences. There is now no trace of it to be seen in the cultivated field where its location was formerly, and the exact spot of its location cannot be pointed out by any one. The recorded plat of the "town" unfortunately contains no reference to the section or part of section or other description, on which the town was located.

The road records of the county show that August 9, 1819, the State Road or Evansville and Princeton road was changed to run "through the Main Street of Saundersville," and this very definite north and south line of the landmark remains still the same. The New Harmony and Boonville road, built in 1820 and 1821, was ordered in two sections, one from "Mansell's mill, Saundersville," to the Warrick county line, to meet the proposed road to Boonville through Warrick county, one from "the town of Saundersville to New Harmony, to strike the Posey county line," etc., at a point, etc. If the road from Boonville to New Harmony has not been changed, then the east and west landmark is also fixed, locating Saundersville in the south part of Section 8. It is not impossible that the variation of a quarter of a mile, more or less, might in those times have been regarded as of little importance in descriptions. In fact, roads were not usually surveyed, but located by the judgment of road viewers who chose the "best route" between the termini.

[142] Scott, *The Indiana Gazeteer,* 103.

Vanderburgh county at the time of the English settlement was located in a dense wilderness, the trees were of enormous height and size. For half a century Evansville has been called the hardwood lumber market of the world, resulting from the extent of the forests and size of trees, tropical in size, in this section, where the grain of the wood gives the lumber a finer quality than in timber grown south of the temperate zone. Clearings by the settlers were often as little as six or seven acres the first year, and gradually increased. John Ingle, at the end of the first year, when Faux visited him, had cleared seventeen acres, and was continuing the work, doing much of his own work in person.

Hogs were raised, half wild, in the woods on mast, with little expense, and pork was always in demand, one of the most available articles for use in exchange and barter, a substitute for money.[143] Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., established a pork house for cutting and curing the meat, the earliest in the settlement, and like many others, made one or more trips by flat boat to New Orleans.

Bears and wolves, when very hungry, would eat the hogs alive, and it was not uncommon for a hog to come home with the loss of a pound or two of flesh bitten from it. Cattle, hogs and sheep could only be certainly raised successfully by keeping them in an enclosure at night. Mrs. Crawford Bell, daughter of David Negley, described an exciting scene in her youth, when a gang of wolves in daylight chased two cows past her, when she and her sister were riding horseback, making her horse run away, fortunately not throwing its riders among the wolves. Before aid could be given, the wolves had overtaken, killed and partly eaten the cows.[144] One of the early settlers is quoted in a local history as stating that wolves were so bad in the 20's that settlers could not raise pigs enough to furnish their pork, and could not keep sheep at all.[145] Faux records that during the few days he, in

[143] John N. Truesdell in a notice dated Sept. 2, published Oct. 28, advertised that between the 15th and 25th of November, 1822, he would exchange salt for pork at Jones and Harrison's store in Evansville. Evansville *Gazette,* Oct. 28, 1822.

[144] Gilbert, *History of Vanderburgh County,* I, 54.

[145] (B. & F.), *History of Vanderburgh County,* 355.

company with John Ingle, visited the Birkbeck and Flower Prairie settlement in Illinois, in November, 1819, a gang of wolves in daylight attacked a large flock of sheep which was guarded by a shepherd, killing fifty before they could be driven off.[146] He also records a visit of one day and night to "Evansville on the bluffs of Ohio," and remarks "the wolves last night howled horribly and prowled into town."[147] Wild cats and panthers were very common and fierce and an enemy to any stock, and were known to follow persons in the woods, when visiting, from one house to another. Bears were very common and easily killed with the rifle, and their meat was very highly valued. At Faux's first meal in the settlement, at the house of John Ingle, bear meat was served to him, and by him very highly appreciated.[148] Deer meat was most plentiful and the meat was highly valued. Venison was taken by the merchants in payment of debts due them, and for goods sold by them.[149]

The native hunters, as a rule, took only the hide and hind quarters of the deer, leaving the remainder in the woods to be devoured quickly by wolves and other wild beasts. Forty years later, deer were still to be found in the woods in all the counties in southern Indiana. From White river to the Ohio river along the Wabash was a strip of wilderness in Gibson and Posey counties, where they were to be found much later and are still occasionally seen and easily killed when driven out of the river bottoms by the high water floods.

Faux paid $4.00 for a bear skin in 1819, worth, he said, four pounds in England, and the fine hair of one he carried back to England to be converted into wigs for his friend, Rev. John Ingle, the patriarch of Somersham.[150]

There were in the settlement native hunters always ready to hunt up stock which frequently strayed off and was lost; such a one would take his rifle and sometimes be gone several days, generally bringing back the lost stock. The Lockyear brothers, whose father came from England with the

[146] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 258.
[147] *Id.* 292.
[148] *Id.*, 225.
[149] Evansville *Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1824.
[150] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XI, 292.

Maidlows, were, like many of their neighbors, good hunters as well as farmers.

The controlling idea in the structure of the houses in which most of these first settlers in the wilderness lived, as well as its furnishings, was perfect economy of money, which at times was almost unknown. Gold and silver were a great rarity, seldom seen, and paper money, also scarce, was very unreliable in its rating, and in the purchase of the necessaries of life people learned to do without money. So it was in house building. Birkbeck's first log house cost him $20.00. Iron, lead, glass, salt, and rifles could not be made in this section, and were very costly. Houses were built often without nails or windows, and made of logs fitted by the axes and raised by the settlers at house raisings, which were great social occasions. Faux thus describes the log house of John Ingle, of Saundersville, a picture of which "drawn from Ingle Refuge, State of Indiana, U. S., by W. Faux," is the frontispiece in his book:[151]

> My friend's log house as a first one is the best I have seen, having one large room and a chamber over it, to which you climbed by a ladder. It has at present no windows, but when the doors are shut the crevices between the rough logs admit light and air enough above and below. It is five yards square and twenty feet high. At a little distance stands a stable for two horses, a corn crib, pig sty and a store; for store keeping is his intention, and it is a good one. Two beds in the room below and one above lodge us.[152]

Both wooden chimneys in the house caught fire during Faux's visit and threatened destruction of the house. The house was heated by fireplaces large enough to hold large logs and nearly a quarter of a cord of wood. The cabins were sometimes built with opposite doors so that a horse could haul the back log into the house in front of the fireplace. An early settler describes the houses in the entire settlement in his youth, in the 20's, from five to ten years after the time of Faux's description, as follows:

> The country was wild, indeed. There were no roads, mere paths, no wagon roads, no wagons to run in them, and no houses, but log cabins.

[151] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 20.
[152] *Id.,* 226.

There were not more than one or two frame houses in Warrick county. The whole country was a wilderness.[153]

The furnishings of the houses were in many cases very primitive and showed the same ingenuity without money as in building the houses, in devising tables, chairs, bedsteads, and more often substitutes, formed by fastening boards or timbers in the floor or walls. Faux says:

I went one mile and a half to borrow from Mrs. Delight Williams six tumblers for the use of our coming Christmas party. This step was necessary or our friends, the Dons of the settlement, must drink out of tin cups or pots. Mrs. Williams is the widow of the whipped Yankee, whose story I have related. [This incident occured in the Illinois Prairie settlement. Williams was whipped on strong suspicion of being a thief. He died in Evansville later of his injuries recieved at the hands of regulators.] She lives in a house without a chimney, having only a hole in the roof to let out the smoke, a fire being made in any part. She was rather unwilling to lend these tumblers because they came from England and money could not replace them if broken. She should expect five dollars, though in England one dollar bought six.[154]

The records of Vanderburgh county show an indictment against two young men of an English family for robbery of the house of James Cawson, a neighbor. Cawson and his wife were wealthy. They were one of the thirty-nine families who sent Fearon to America. They brought from England with them many of the household conveniences, practically unknown in the wilderness of Indiana. And these, it was charged, tempted the young men who broke into Cawson's house and stole them. The items are described with much detail in the indictment. It is interesting to note some of the sequels of this affair. The defendants were acquitted of robbery, but their father was indicted, but later acquitted for perjury in testifying at their trial. Cawson was indicted for compounding a felony, whereby he got his goods back and ceased to be interested in the prosecution. While an agreement not to prosecute under these circumstances is prohibited as against the policy of the law, it is believed, even in this age, that police aid is more often sought to recover stolen goods than to vindicate the majesty of the broken laws.

[153] *History of Vanderburgh County* (B. & F.), 355.
[154] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels,* XI, 300.

When Cawson was placed upon his trial before a jury in the Vanderburgh circuit court, he challenged the whole array of jurors and claimed the right to be tried by a jury *de mediatate linguae*, that is to be tried as a foreigner, by a jury half natives and half foreigners. This practice is rare and at the present time practically unknown in Indiana. The court sustained his challenge and directed a jury to be empaneled, half English and half natives, the former being taken from the English settlement, among his neighbors, and Cawson was acquitted. The names of the foreigners on the jury were Alanson Baldwin, Saunders Hornbrook, Sr., Edmund Maidlow, George Potts, William Mills, James Maidlow. These individuals, including Cawson himself, all became citizens, however, as soon as eligible, under the law at that time, which required several years previous residence.

Nothing more clearly appears at this time than that success by farmers in the wilderness, such as these men became, required an adjustment to the conditions of frontier life. These pioneers performed household and farm labor without hired help, a life of closest economy and continued sacrifice. The native laborers were, as a rule, more or less shiftless and unreliable. Good land could be bought from the United States at $2.00 per acre, later at $1.25 per acre, on payment of one-fourth cash, the remainder on long time; so that a thrifty and industrious man could easily make upon the land the money to buy it, as the purchase price became due. Therefore, with such opportunities, capable workers naturally preferred by their labor to own their own land, instead of working in service for others. Faux narrates an incident when John Ingle hired a native preacher to do a job of carpenter work of some magnitude at that time, and, trusting to his cloth, paid him forty dollars in advance, but the man refused to begin or do the work, but kept the money, while his employer had no recourse, as the preacher was irresponsible at law, and he lost his money. It was exceptional that there was any profit in hired labor on the farm under the conditions as they existed at the beginning.

Women house servants became *ipso facto* members of the family, on terms of equality or privileges with members of

the family, and in a country where women were scarce, chances of marriage were plentiful and interfered with long employments.

The life of these pioneers in the wilderness was, therefore, one of the hardest labor, involving the greatest sacrifice of convenience, comfort and pleasure. It was the severing of ties of relationship and friendship, leaving organized society and civilization behind them. To these men and women who came from Great Britain, where orderly society and restrains of convention, as well as of law, were properly established, the change was a severe test.

The panic of 1818, already referred to, lasted for many years, and checked the growth of Evansville for more than a decade, checked also active emigration to the British settlement. The reduction of the price of congress land from $2.00 to $1.25 per acre immediately destroyed land values and ruined many people. The financial effect upon the country was universal. New Orleans, which was practically the outlet for the surplus product of this section, which could only be carried by water, was affected by the panic, and had no surplus money; from it this section had derived its specie.

The town of Saundersville, which had considerable life during the first few years of the settlement, disappeared and before 1840 not an inhabitant lived in it.[155] Such was the fate of many other platted towns. The town scheme of John Ingle and his associates and the British settlement were entirely different matters. The latter was a natural and successful early settlement in Indiana, and the foundation of much wider growth and influence. During the panic the people did not suffer. They had plenty to eat, the women made the clothing, houses were built when necessary, without iron, glass or money. Wooden hinges even were not uncommon within the memory of persons now living.

Emigration to this settlement and to Evansville as well, never wholly ceased. The English settlers moved from Evansville into the country, but more often from the country into Evansville, and mixed as one people. In the 40's and

[155] Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, X, 251.

50's, when the greater tide of emigration better filled up the unoccupied lands in this section, English people came in large numbers with those from other lands. All the time communication had been kept up by correspondence and an occasional visit between the English in the settlement and their acquaintances, friends and relatives in the old country. This resulted in large numbers of British emigrants coming into this settlement and other parts of the county, including the city of Evansville.

Before the middle of the last century, John Ingle, Jr., had established in Evansville a primitive bureau of immigration, one of the important duties of which was to send money through John Ross, Banker, Chatteris, England, from the English here to their friends and relatives in the old country, to enable them to come over as well as to divide the profits of a successful life in America with the old people and needy relatives in England, and not infrequently collect legacies in England for people here. This continued for many years.

Through influences such as these, there came from England to Vanderburgh county, and to the city of Evansville while it was still small, a number of young and vigorous men, who soon became leaders in their various fields. Among these were leading farmers, builders and contractors in wood, brick and stone, who in the last generation were, at the least, equally, if not more prominent and capable than any other element, in the building in Evansville, and other towns and cities in this section, of churches, schools, sewers and other large structures, requiring ability, capital and public confidence. A number of these acquired wealth and position, and some of them are still living. There was for many years a section in the center of Evansville below Main street called Little Chatteris. It is not the purpose of this inquiry to attempt to deal with the careers of these later emigrants, or even to mention the names of prominent people among them; rather to deal with emigrants who came previous to 1830.

In these investigations, upon which much time and labor have been spent, a personal knowledge of some of the pioneers mentioned and of most of their children, and of facts and

circumstances narrated, aided by family history, have been of material service to the writer. The success and importance of the first British settlement in Indiana lies much in its being a vital part of the beginning of organized society and government in this section, and its impress of Anglo-Saxon ideals at the beginning, out of which and upon which in a substantial degree were established the present conditions in this community, including the city of Evansville.

So perfect was the assimilation that the history of the settlement is not the tracing of a separate element, and but for a careful record of these details there would be preserved now no dividing line between the British element and other elements in the early settlement of this part of Indiana.